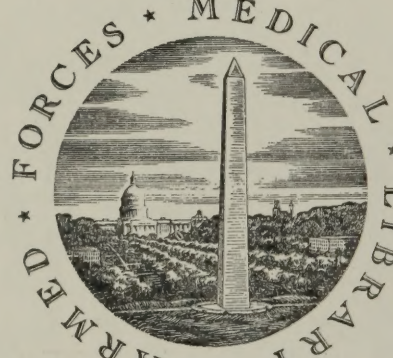
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



FOUNDED 1836

WITHDRAWN FOR EXCHANGE
REINSTATED N.L.M.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

GPO 16—67244-1

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

First DISCOVERY

AND

SETTLEMENT

OF

VIRGINIA:

BEING

An ESSAY towards a General HISTORY of this COLONY.

By WILLIAM STITH, *A. M.*

Rector of *Henrico* Parish, and one of the Governors of *William* and *Mary* COLLEGE.

---

*Tantæ molis erat *** condere gentem.* Virg.

WILLIAMSBURG:

Printed by WILLIAM PARKS, M,DCC,XLVII.

ARMY MEDICAL LIBRARY WASHINGTON, D.C. U.S.A.

SURGEON GENERAL'S
LIBRARY

THE

PREFACE.

I *HERE present the Reader with the first Part of my History of our own Country. When I had left my laborious Employment at the* College, *and began to enjoy a little Leisure, I could not think myself wholly discharged from the Service of the Publick. As therefore my late Uncle, Sir* John Randolph, *had purposed to write a Preface to our Laws, and therein to give an Historical Account of our Constitution and Government, but was prevented from prosecuting it to Effect, by his many and weighty Publick Employments, and by the vast Burthen of private Business from his Clients, I thought the History of* Virginia *would be no mean or unacceptable Undertaking. For such a Work, well performed, must naturally be a great Satisfaction, and even Ornament, to our Country. Besides which, I was farther induced by some other Reasons. It is now an hundred and forty Years, since the first Discovery and Settlement of* Virginia; *and as many useful Papers and Records, relating to our History, may probably be found at present, which will perhaps be lost hereafter, I conceived it high time, that something material should be attempted in it. For I need not say, how empty and unsatisfactory every thing, yet published upon the Subject, is; excepting the excellent but confused Materials, left us in Captain* Smith's *History.*

I speak not this with the Pride and Malevolence of an Author, that would raise his own Reputation by depreciating his Brother Writers; but it is a Censure most justly due to those, who have yet meddled with our History, and which I, for my own Part, owe them, for the Vexation and Disappointment I met with, in reading their Works. And I can farther declare with great Truth, that had any thing of Consequence been done in our History, I could most willingly have saved myself the Trouble, of conning over our old musty Records,

WITHDRAWN FOR EXCHANGE
N.L.M.
REINSTATED NLM

cords, and of ſtudying, connecting, and reconciling the jarring and disjointed Writings and Relations of different Men and different Parties. However, I was ſorry to ſee all our Hopes at an End by the Death of Sir John Randolph; *and was unwilling the Deſign ſhould be entirely abandoned, and that our Hiſtory ſhould ſtill remain in its old Confuſion and Uncertainty. I had alſo, by my Intimacy with that Gentleman, had the Sight and Peruſal of many excellent Materials in his Hands; and thought, I could not handſomely be denied the Uſe of any thing elſe to my Purpoſe, either in our publick Offices, or the Poſſeſſion of private Gentlemen.*

I may further add, that I at preſent enjoy a perfect Leiſure and Retirement, and am not burthened with any publick Poſt or Office. So that ſuch a Work will be a noble and elegant Entertainment for my vacant Hours, which it is not in my Power to employ, more to my own Satisfaction, or the Uſe and Benefit of my Country.

A S to my Helps in carrying on this Work, beſides De Brye's *Edition of* Hariot's *Treatiſe and* With's *Cuts and Maps, and beſides caſual Aſſiſtances from ſuch Parts of* Purchas, *as I could procure, from Dr.* Heylen, *and other things in Print, the inquiſitive Reader will eaſily perceive, how much of this Volume is founded on Captain* Smith's *Materials. They are large and good, and of unqueſtionable Authority, for what is related, whilſt he ſtaid in the Country. But they are however, as I before obſerved, vaſtly confuſed and perplexed, and took me more Labour and Pains to digeſt them, than I at firſt expected. The latter Part of his Hiſtory alſo, eſpecially from Captain* Argall's *Government, is liable to ſome juſt Suſpicion. Not that I queſtion Captain* Smith's *Integrity; for I take him to have been a very honeſt Man, and a ſtrenuous Lover of Truth. But being himſelf abſent in thoſe times upon other Projects, and having an Acquaintance and Friendſhip with Sir* Thomas Smith *and Captain* Argall, *he ſeems chiefly to have depended upon them and their Friends, for his Account of things. And particularly, his Account of Captain* Argall's *Government is expreſly taken from himſelf, and from a Relation of Mr.* Rolfe's. *Beſides which, it is evident that his Mind was ſomewhat eagered by the Neglects ſhewn him, and by the Refuſal of ſome juſt Reward for his many and great Services. So that he does not ſeem much inclined, to think well of the Company or their Proceedings. And ſuch Prejudices and Partialities do ſilently and imperceptibly ſlide into the beſt and honeſteſt Minds; and ought therefore to be carefully watched and guarded againſt by all Men, but eſpecially by Hiſtorians. But from whatever Cauſe it proceeded, it is certain, that he gave a very wrong Idea of Captain* Argall *and his*

his Government, and of the Reaſons of the Diſſolution of the Company, in which he has been implicitely followed by all our ſucceeding Hiſtorians. And I would not have the Reader ſurpriſed to find my Account of thoſe Particulars, ſo very different from all others, yet in Print. For I aſſure him, there is not one Article, ſcarce a Word, in my Relation, which is not founded on the expreſs Teſtimony, and the inconteſtible Authority, of our Records in the Capitol, and the Company's Journals.

FOR beſides theſe printed Accounts, I have had the greateſt and moſt conſiderable Aſſiſtances from authentick Manuſcripts. Sir John Randolph's *Collection of publick Papers, and the Capitol Records, have been of no little Uſe to me, and will be ſtill of greater Service and Conſequence in the Proſecution of the Work. But I muſt confeſs myſelf moſt endebted, in this Part of my Hiſtory, to a very full and fair Manuſcript of the* London *Company's Records, which was communicated to me by the late worthy Preſident of our Council, the Honourable* William Byrd, *Eſq; Neither could I well excuſe myſelf, if I did not likewiſe acknowledge, with what Humanity and Politeneſs, that well bred Gentleman and Scholar, not only communicated thoſe Manuſcripts to me, but alſo threw open his Library (the beſt and moſt copious Collection of Books in our Part of* America) *and was himſelf even ſtudious and ſollicitous, to ſearch out and give me, whatever might be uſeful to my Undertaking.*

AS theſe Records are a very curious and valuable Piece of the Antiquities of our Country, I ſhall give the Reader an Account of them, which I received, many Years ago, in Converſation with Col. Byrd *and Sir* John Randolph. *I had then no Thoughts of writing the Hiſtory of* Virginia, *and therefore took leſs Notice, than I otherwiſe ſhould have done. However, as I am perhaps the only Perſon now living, any thing acquainted with their Hiſtory, it will not be improper to give it to the Reader, as I judge it highly worthy of his Knowledge.*

THESE Records are a Journal of the Company's Proceedings, from Day to Day; and are written in two large Folio *Volumes, on a Kind of Elephant Paper, generally in a very fair and legible Hand. Each Page is ſubſcribed by* Edward Collingwood, *the Company's Secretary, thus;* Com. Collingwood, *which is, as I take it,* Compared, Collingwood. *Beſides which, there is a Teſtification at the End of each Volume. At the End of the firſt, under the Hands of* Edward Waterhouſe *and* Edward Collingwood, *Secretaries of the two Companies for* Virginia *and the* Somer-Iſlands, *that they had compared that with the Original Court-Book, and found*

found it to be a true and perfect Copy of the same, except the Omission of one Court and Part of another. The second Volume is signed by the said Secretary Collingwood *and* Thomas Collet, *of the* Middle Temple, *Gentleman, testifying the same thing, except in a few immaterial Points, where were wanted some Original Papers: These Volumes only contain the Company's Proceedings for a little above five Years,* viz. *from* April 28, 1619 *to* June 7, 1624; *including the whole Time of Sir* Edwin Sandys's *and the Earl of* Southampton's *Administration. However they are not a brief and summary Entry of the principal Points and Matters concluded upon, according to the common Methods of Courts, but give, at length, the chief Speeches, Reasons, and Debates, that happened in their Courts, during that time. And as it was a Period of vast Contest and Dispute, they often recur back to former Times and Transactions, and thereby give us a clear Idea and Account of the chief Matters and Proceedings of the Company, almost from it's first Institution and Foundation.*

THIS Copy was taken, by the Order, and for the Use, of the Earl of Southampton, *the Company's Treasurer at that time; who seeing, how things were going with the Company, had their Records thus carefully copied and compared, and authentically attested. Whether his Lordship intended to stand Suit with the King for the Rights and Privileges of the Company, or whether he did it only in Vindication of his own and the Company's Reputation, is uncertain. However they were carefully preserved in the Family; and as the Original Court-Books were taken from the Company by the King and Privy Council, and never again restored to them, that I can find, but probably destroyed or lost, this is perhaps the only Copy, now extant. After the Death of that Earl's Son, the Duke of* Southampton (*the worthy Partner in the Ministry with the Earl of* Clarendon, *after the Restoration*) *which happened in the Year* 1667, *the late Col.* Byrd's *Father, being then in* England, *purchased them of his Executors, for sixty Guineas. And thus have they been handed down, to clear the Honour and Uprightness of the Actions of that Nobleman and the Company, and to the full Conviction of King* James's *arbitrary and oppressive Proceedings against them.*

I therefore hope, my Freedom with that King's Character, will need no Apology. For if more than a Century is not enough to un-solomonise *that silly Monarch, I must give up all my Notions of things. A King's Character, whilst he lives, is, and ought to be sacred, because his Authority depends upon it. But when his Authority, the Reason of it's being sacred, determines, the Inviolableness of his Character is also at an End. And I take it to be the main Part of the*

Duty

Duty and Office of an Hiſtorian, to paint Men and Things in their true and lively Colours; and to do that Juſtice to the Vices and Follies of Princes and great Men, after their Death, which it is not ſafe or proper to do, whilſt they are alive. And herein, as I judge, chiefly conſiſt the Strength and Excellency of Tacitus *and* Suetonius. *Their Stile and Manner are far inferior to* Livy's, *and the Writers of the* Julian *and* Auguſtan *Ages. But they have more than painted, and expoſed alive to View, the greateſt Train of Monſters, that ever diſgraced a Throne, or did Diſhonour to human Nature; and thereby have obtained to themſelves a Rank, among the beſt and moſt valuable Writers. King* James *I. fell indeed far ſhort of the* Cæſar's *ſuperlative Wickedneſs and Supremacy in Vice. He was, at beſt, only very ſimple and injudicious, without any ſteady Principle of Juſtice and Honour; which was rendered the more odious and ridiculous, by his large and conſtant Pretenſions to Wiſdom and Virtue. And he had, in Truth, all the Forms of Wiſdom; for ever erring very learnedly, with a wiſe Saw, or* Latin *Sentence, in his Mouth. For he had been bred up under* Buchanan, *one of the brighteſt Genius's and moſt accompliſhed Scholars of that Age, who had given him* Greek *and* Latin *in great Waſte and Profuſion, but it was not in his Power to give him good Senſe. That is the Gift of God and Nature alone, and is not to be taught; and* Greek *and* Latin *without it, only cumber and overload a weak Head, and often render the Fool more abundantly fooliſh. I muſt therefore confeſs, that I have ever had, from my firſt Acquaintance with Hiſtory, a moſt contemptible Opinion of this Monarch; which has perhaps been much heightened and increaſed, by my long ſtudying and conning over the Materials of this Hiſtory. For he appears, in his Dealings with the Company, to have acted with ſuch mean Arts and Fraud, and ſuch little Tricking, as highly miſbecome Majeſty. And I am much miſtaken, if his arbitrary Proceedings and unjuſt Deſigns will appear from any Part of his Hiſtory more fully, than from theſe Tranſactions with the Company and Colony; which have been thus far unknown to the* Engliſh *Hiſtorians, and will perhaps be ſtill thought too inſignificant for their Notice. However I hope, my ſpeaking my Mind thus ſincerely and impartially will give no Umbrage or Offence to any Man, or Party of Men. For I declare myſelf to be of no Party; but have laboured ſolely with a View, to find out and relate the Truth. And as for King* James *I. I think and ſpeak of him, with the ſame Freedom and Indifferency, that I would think and ſpeak of any other Man, long ſince dead; and therefore I have no way reſtrained my Stile, in freely expoſing his weak and injurious Proceedings*

IN the ſucceeding Parts of this Hiſtory, I am afraid, I ſhall meet with much greater Difficulties, then I have yet encountered. For I muſt chiefly depend on ſuch of our Records, as are ſtill extant. Many of them doubtleſs periſhed in the State-houſe at James-Town, *and by other Accidents; and thoſe, which have ſurvived the Flames and Injuries of Time, have been ſo careleſly kept, are ſo broken, interrupted, and deficient, have been ſo mangled by Moths and Worms, and lie in ſuch a confuſed and jumbled State (at leaſt the moſt ancient of them) being huddled together in ſingle Leaves and Sheets in Books out of the Binding, that I foreſee, it will coſt me infinite Pains and Labour, to reduce and digeſt them into any tolerable Order, ſo as to form from them a juſt and connected Narration. And ſome of them have been loſt, even ſince Mr.* Hickman *was Clerk of the Secretary's Office. For I cannot find, among the Papers in our Offices, ſome old Rolls, to which he refers. I have therefore been obliged, in a few Points, to depend upon the Fidelity of that Gentleman's Extracts out of our oldeſt Records, made for the Uſe of Sir* John Randolph. *But theſe things were ſo far from diſcouraging and rebuffing me, that they were rather an additional Spur to my Induſtry. For I thought it highly neceſſary, before they were entirely loſt and deſtroyed, to apply them to their proper Uſe, the forming a good Hiſtory. But as the Houſe of Burgeſſes, in a late Seſſion, upon my ſhewing their moldering and dangerous State to ſome of the Members, have juſtly taken them into their Conſideration, and have ordered them to be reviewed and fairly tranſcribed, I doubt not, by their Aſſiſtance, and with the Help of the late Sir* John Randolph's *Papers, and ſuch others, as are in the Hands of private Gentlemen in the Country, and will undoubtedly be readily communicated to further ſo noble and ſo uſeful a Deſign, to be able to collect and compoſe a tolerably regular and complete Hiſtory of our Country.*

Varina, Dec. 10, 1746.

THE

THE HISTORY OF *VIRGINIA.*

BOOK I.

EVERY Country hath it's Fables concerning it's Original, which give great Scope to light and fanciful Hiſtorians, but are uſually paſſed over with a ſlight Mention by the ſolid and judicious. The late Diſcovery of *America*, in hiſtorical and well-known Times, might, one would think, have exempted it from this common Fate of Nations. Yet ſuch is the Pride of ſome Men to ſeem of deep Reach and Inſight, and to ſtrike out things untouched and unthought of by others, and ſuch their prepoſterous Delight in groping after Truth in the Dark, and yet neglecting her in the clear and meridian Brightneſs of Day, that even this new World hath been endowed with it's fabulous Age, and old Tales revived, or new ones invented, to ſtretch it's Antiquities beyond *Columbus*, and the ſhort Date of two hundred and fifty Years. We are therefore told of one *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian* Captain, who made a Voyage to *America*. But in what Age he lived, or upon what Authority or Pretext the Story is grounded, I have not been yet able fully to diſcover. Even the monſtrous Legends of *Arthur*, *Madoc*,

and *Madock*, a Welsh Prince, and of the Friar of *Lynne*, who by his black Art transported himself to the Northern Parts of *America*, have found Men weak enough to be the Relators and Propagators of them. *Plato*'s Fable also of the *Atlantick* Islands has been applied to this Subject; and *Seneca* the Tragedian, who could never yet obtain from the Criticks a firm Rank among the best and most approved Classicks, hath nevertheless been acknowledged by the Historians as a true Prophet, and some Verses of his quoted, as containing a Prediction of the future Discovery and Settlement of *America*. But as I have ever had an utter Contempt and Aversion for all such learned Trumpery, and have often been disgusted and concerned to see Authors, otherwise of Judgment and Genius, carried by their Credulity too far into those dark and uncertain Tracts of Time, I shall leave these, with other Stories of the like Nature, to their first Authors or Inventors, and shall apply myself to give a plain and exact History of our Country, ever regarding Truth as the first requisite and principal Virtue in an Historian, and relating nothing without a sufficient Warrant and Authority.

THE *European* Nations had continued, through all Ages, in the most profound Ignorance of all the rest of the World, except the best Part of *Europe*, and the most obvious and adjacent Countries of *Asia* and *Africa*. And although the attractive Power of the Loadstone had been long known and observed, yet it's Poles, and the wonderful Qualities and Inclination of the magnetical Needle, were still a Secret, till it seemed good to Divine Providence, that one *John Gioia*, of *Amalfi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, discovered them about the Year 1300. This important Discovery lay long useless, without any Application to Navigation; neither can we certainly say, who first turned it to this great End. However the Use of the Sea-Compass crept in by Degrees, and was undoubtedly the grand Instrument and Foundation of all those later Discoveries.

THE *Portuguese* was the first Nation of *Europe*, that engaged in maritime Expeditions, in order to explore and discover the unknown Parts of the World. For Prince *Henry* of *Portugal*, in the Year 1417, sent two small Barks to make Discoveries along the Coast of *Africa*; which Beginning having some Success, was afterwards prosecuted, during the Life of that Prince, under his Auspices and Direction. After his Death, they still advanced by Degrees in their Trade and Discoveries, till at length in the Year 1497 they reached the Cape of *Good-Hope*. But it was 1497, five Years after the Discovery of *America*, before

Vasco

Vasco de Gama, by the Command, and in the Service, of *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, sailed round that Cape to the *East-Indies*.

Christopher Columbus, a *Genoese* by Birth, a Person of great Knowledge and Experience in naval Affairs, of good Learning, and a comprehensive Mind, and being also led perhaps by the late Discoveries of the *Portuguese*, was strongly possessed with a Notion of some Lands to the Westward, beyond the great *Atlantick* Ocean. He therefore first offered his Service to his native Country, the Republick of *Genoa*; but being rejected as a whimsical and chimerical Man, he applied himself to King *John* II. of *Portugal*, *Henry* VII. of *England*, and to *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, King and Queen of *Castile*. Many Years being spent in fruitless Sollicitations, and after much Vexation and Disappointment, he was at last entertained in the Service of the King and Queen of *Castile*, and sent upon the Discovery, which he happily effected the 11th of *October* 1492. After this, *Columbus*, being animated with a publick Spirit and a generous Principle of Glory, and the *Spaniards*, being as eagerly pushed on by an insatiable Thirst of Gold, so ardently pursued, and so successfully improved this first Discovery, that they soon became Masters of vast Tracts of rich and fertile Country, abounding in Gold, Silver, Pearls, Emeralds, and many other the most precious and delicious Products of this Globe. The *Portuguese* likewise, altho' sufficiently loaded and embarrassed with their vast Acquisitions on the Coast of *Africa* and in the *East-Indies*, yet nevertheless found the Means and Opportunity to make good their great Discovery of *Brazil*. Neither were the *French* entirely idle; but they made many vigorous Efforts towards gaining a Share of the Riches and Territory of this new World.

THE *English* in the mean time, a maritime Nation, of great Bravery, and of a bold and adventurous Nature, lay quite negligent and supine, and let slip all Opportunities in those early Times of acquiring some rich and useful Provinces in *America*. For altho' they had in the Year 1497, under *Sebastian Cabot*, made the Discovery of *Newfoundland*, and of the main Continent of *America* from 38 to 68 Degrees of northern Latitude, yet they made no other Advantage of this Discovery, but to send out a few fishing Barks in common with other Nations of *Europe*. At length Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, a Gentleman of great Reputation for his Skill in naval Affairs, and of a high and resolute Spirit, undertook to settle a Colony in *Newfoundland*, a cold, barren, and unfruitful Soil, and most unfriendly Clime. And

to this End, he obtained Letters patent from Queen *Elizabeth*, bearing Date the 11th of *June*, 1578.

THESE Letters patent granted "free Power and Liberty to him, his Heirs and Aſſigns for ever, to diſcover, find, ſearch out, and view, all ſuch remote, heathen, and barbarous Lands, Countries, or Territories, as were not actually poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian Prince or People; and thither to lead and carry with him, to travel thitherward, and there inhabit, ſuch and ſo many of her Majeſty's Subjects, as would willingly accompany and join in the Enterpriſe.

"AND that he ſhould have, hold, occupy, and enjoy, to himſelf, his Heirs and Aſſigns, for ever, all ſuch Lands, Countries, and Territories, ſo to be diſcovered or poſſeſſed, with the Rights, Royalties, and Juriſdictions, as well marine as other, within the ſaid Lands and Countries, or the Seas thereunto adjoining, with full Power to diſpoſe thereof to her Majeſty's Subjects, and of any or every Part thereof, in Fee-ſimple, or otherwiſe, according to the Laws of *England*, as nearly as conveniently might be; paying to the Queen, her Heirs and Succeſſors, for all Services, Duties, and Demands whatſoever, the Fifth Part of all the Ore of Gold and Silver, which ſhould at any Time there be gotten; holding all the ſaid Lands and Countries of her Majeſty, her Heirs, and Succeſſors, by Homage, and by the Payment of the ſaid Fifth Part, before reſerved.

"MOREOVER granting to him, his Heirs and Aſſigns, for ever, Licence to encounter, expel, repel, and reſiſt all Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, that ſhould attempt to inhabit in the ſaid Countries, without his ſpecial Licence and Liking, or within the Space of two Hundred Leagues of the Place, where he, his Heirs, or Aſſigns, ſhould, within Six Years next enſuing, make their Dwelling and Abode; provided the ſaid Countries were not before planted or inhabited, within the aforeſaid Limits, by the Subjects of any Chriſtian Prince, in Amity with her Majeſty. And giving and granting to him, his Heirs and Aſſigns, for ever, full Power and Authority, to take and ſurpriſe, by all manner of Means whatſoever, all and every Perſon and Perſons, with their Ships, Veſſels, or other Goods and Furniture, that ſhould be found trafficking within the Limits aforeſaid, without the Licence of the ſaid Sir *Humphry*, his Heirs, or Aſſigns; the Subjects of the Queen's Realms and Dominions, and all other Perſons in Amity with her, being driven thither by Force of Tempeſt or Shipwreck, only excepted,

"AND

" AND for uniting in more perfect League and Amity, " ſuch Lands and Countries with the Realms of *England* " and *Ireland*, and for the better Encouragement of thoſe, " who would engage in the Enterpriſe, the Queen grants " and declares, that the ſaid Countries, ſo to be poſſeſſed " and inhabited, ſhould from thenceforth be in the Alle- " giance and Protection of her, her Heirs, and Succeſſors; " and farther grants to the ſaid Sir *Humphry*, his Heirs, " and Aſſigns, and to every other Perſon or Perſons, to " their, and every of their Heirs, that they, and every " of them, that ſhould thereafter be inhabiting in the ſaid " Lands, Countries, and Territories, ſhould and might " have and enjoy all the Privileges of free Denizens, or " Perſons native of *England*; any Law, Cuſtom, or U- " ſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

" AND ſhe farther grants to the ſaid Sir *Humphry*, his " Heirs and Aſſigns, for ever, full Power and Authority, " to correct, puniſh, pardon, govern and rule, as well in " Cauſes capital or criminal, as civil, all ſuch her Subjects " or others, as ſhould adventure themſelves in the ſaid " Voyages, or ſhould at any Time thereafter inhabit the " ſaid Lands, Countries, or Territories, or ſhould dwell " within two hundred Leagues of the Place or Places, " where the ſaid *Humphry*, his Heirs, or Aſſigns, or any " of his or their Aſſociates, ſhould inhabit within ſix Years " enſuing the Date thereof; with Power to conſtitute ſuch " Statutes, Laws, and Ordinances, as ſhould by him, the " ſaid Sir *Humphry*, his Heirs, or Aſſigns, be deviſed or " eſtabliſhed, for the better Government of the ſaid Peo- " ple: Provided always, that they ſhould be, as near as " conveniently might, agreeable to the Laws and Policy " of *England*; and provided alſo, that they be not againſt " the true Chriſtian Faith, profeſſed in the Church of " *England*, nor any way tend to withdraw the Subjects or " People of thoſe Lands or Places from the Allegiance of " the Queen, her Heirs, or Succeſſors.

" PROVIDED always, and ſhe thereby declares to all " Chriſtian Kings, Princes, and States, that if the ſaid Sir " *Humphry*, his Heirs, or Aſſigns, or any other by their " Licence or Appointment, ſhould at any Time or Times " thereafter, rob or ſpoil, by Sea or by Land, or do any " Act of unjuſt or unlawful Hoſtility, to any of the Sub- " jects of *England*, or of any other King, Prince, or State, " in League or Amity with the Crown of *England*, that " then, upon ſuch Injury, or upon juſt Complaint thereof, " the Queen, her Heirs, or Succeſſors, ſhould make open " Proclamation, within any of the Ports of *England* com-

" modius, that the ſaid Sir *Humphry*, his Heirs, or Aſſigns, " or any other, to whom thoſe Letters patent might ex- " tend, ſhould, within the Term to be limited in the ſaid " Proclamations, make full Reſtitution and Satisfaction for " all Injuries ſo done: In Default whereof, it ſhould be " lawful for the Queen, her Heirs, or Succeſſors, to put " the ſaid Sir *Humphry*, his Heirs, or Aſſigns, with his or " their Adherents, and all the Inhabitants of the ſaid Pla- " ces, out of their Allegiance and Protection; and that " from ſuch Time as they ſhould be ſo put out of the Pro- " tection of the Crown of *England*, it ſhould be free for all " Princes and others, to purſue them with Hoſtility, as " being no longer Subjects of *England*, nor by the Queen, " her Heirs, or Succeſſors, any ways to be avowed, main- " tained, or defended."

In Conſequence of theſe ample Powers and Privileges, Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, with the Conjunction and Aſſiſtance of many other Gentlemen, prepared to put to Sea with a noble Fleet. But juſt on the Point of Departure, upon ſome Diſagreement and Diſſention, he was deſerted by his Aſſociates, and left with only a few of his firm and faithful Friends. With theſe, however, he ventured to Sea, but having been expoſed to ſome Misfortunes, and loſt a large Ship of his Fleet, he was obliged to return without effecting any thing. Theſe expenſive and unſucceſsful Preparations had ſo impaired his Fortune, that it was 1583, before he made any farther Attempt. But then having ſold his Eſtate, and being joined by divers Gentlemen of Fortune, he again ſet Sail with two Ships and three ſmall Barks. Coming before St. *John*'s Harbour in *Newfoundland*, he was refuſed Entrance by the fiſhing Veſſels within, to the Number of thirty ſix Sail, of all Nations. He therefore prepared to make his Way good by Force of Arms; but firſt ſent his Boat in to inform them, that he had a Commiſſion from the Queen, to take Poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands for the Crown of *England*. Queen *Elizabeth*'s Name was reverenced through all *Europe*, and her Power and Authority at Sea, in particular, much honoured and revered. Theſe Fiſhing-Barks therefore readily ſubmitted, and even made a Contribution of Proviſions, to ſupply the Wants of this ſmall Fleet.

After this, Sir *Humphry* went aſhore, being conducted by all the *Engliſh* there; and having cauſed a Tent to be ſet up in View of the Bay and Veſſels, being attended by his Captains, Maſters, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, he ſummoned all the Merchants and Maſters, both *Engliſh* and Foreigners, to be preſent at his taking a formal and ſolemn

Poſſeſſion

Poſſeſſion of the Country. He then cauſed his Commiſſion to be openly read, and to be interpreted to thoſe who were Strangers to the *Engliſh* Tongue. By Virtue of this Commiſſion, he declared, that he took Poſſeſſion of the Harbour of St. *John's*, and of the Territory two Hundred Leagues every way, and inveſted her Majeſty with the Title and Dignity thereof. And having had a Twig and a Turf of the Soil delivered to him, he entered Poſſeſſion alſo for himſelf, his Heirs, or Aſſigns, for ever. He further ſignified to thoſe preſent, and through them to all Men, that, from thenceforward, they ſhould look upon thoſe Territories, as appertaining to the Queen of *England*, and upon himſelf, as authoriſed by her Majeſty to poſſeſs and enjoy them, with Power to ordain Laws, under which all People coming thither for the future, either to inhabit or to trade, ſhould ſubmit themſelves and be governed. And to exerciſe his Power and Juriſdiction, he enacted three Laws, immediately to take Place and be of Force; and granted divers Parcels of Land, lying by the Sea Side, as well in the Harbour of St. *John's*, as elſewhere.

AFTER ſome Excurſions to ſearch the Country, and the pretended Diſcovery of a Silver Mine, with which Sir *Humphry* was much gulled and delighted, they ſet Sail to the *Southward*, in order to explore and diſcover the main Coaſt of *America*. But falling among ſome Shoals, and meeting with very bad and tempeſtuous Weather, after having undergone much Danger and Fatigue, they reſolved to return for *England*. Sir *Humphry*, the better to ſearch the Coaſt, and to run up into Creeks and Harbours, had gone on board a ſmall Bark of ten Tons; and could not afterwards be perſuaded to leave her in their Return homewards, till her Lights were ſuddenly extinguiſhed in the Night, at which Time ſhe was ſuppoſed to ſink, and was never after ſeen or heard of.

THE learned and valiant Mr. *Walter Raleigh* was half Brother to Sir *Humphry Gilbert*; his Father having married Sir *Humphry's* Mother, when a Widow, and had by her this his fourth and youngeſt Son, with ſome other Children. Led by this near Relation, and being alſo a Perſon of a noble and enterpriſing Genius, he had been one of the principal Adventurers in this Undertaking of Sir *Humphry*, and had fitted out, entirely at his own Charge, the largeſt Ship of his Fleet, called the *Raleigh* Bark. Some Authors ſay, he went himſelf upon the Expedition, and commanded his own Ship in Perſon. But however that might be, 'tis certain, this Ship was, within a few Days, obliged to put back to *Plymouth*, greatly diſtreſſed by a violent and contagious Sick-

1584. neſs among her Company. But notwithſtanding this Diſappointment, and the unhappy End of his raſh and unfortunate Brother, Mr. *Ralegh* was not diſcouraged; but being moved with the Voyages and Relations of others, he ſtill perſiſted in the Deſign of diſcovering and making a Settlement in *America*. He therefore obtained Letters patent from Queen *Elizabeth*, of whom he was at that Time one of the chief Favourites, bearing Date the 25th of *March*, 1584, for diſcovering and planting any ſuch Lands and Countries, as were not already in the actual Poſſeſſion of any Chriſtian Nation. Theſe Letters patent are in *Hackluyt*'s Collection of Voyages; but that Book is ſo very rare, that our Country does not afford one Copy of it, at leaſt that I could find out or procure. I have not therefore been able to obtain a Sight of theſe Patents; but we are told, that they were, *mutatis mutandis*, the very ſame with thoſe granted to Sir *Humphry Gilbert*; of which I have therefore before given a particular Extract.

ABOUT the ſame Time, the Queen granted Mr. *Ralegh* another Patent, to licence the Vending of Wine throughout the Kingdom; which was deſigned, as it has been ſuppoſed, to enable him by the Profits, that would thence ariſe, to ſuſtain the vaſt Charges which this Undertaking of a Colony would neceſſarily bring upon him. But yet the better to ſtrengthen himſelf, and carry on the Affair, he perſuaded divers other Gentlemen and Merchants to join with him; particularly his noble and gallant Kinſman, Sir *Richard Grenvil*, and Mr. *William Sanderſon*, who had married his Neice, and was much engaged among the Merchant Adventurers of that Time; and was alſo one of the Queen's Commiſſioners for the *Spaniſh* Prizes, and of Note for the great Globes, which, by his Encouragement, were firſt brought to Perfection. They therefore, with all convenient Speed, provided two ſmall Veſſels, and having plentifully furniſhed them with Neceſſaries, put them under the Command of Captain *Philip Amidas*, and Captain *Arthur Barlow*; which laſt was alſo a Land-Officer, and had ſerved under Mr. *Ralegh* in the Wars of *Ireland*, with great Bravery and Honour. But Mr. *Ralegh*, being hindered by his Employments, and too buſily engaged in his ambitious Purſuits at Court, did not come himſelf upon the Expedition, as hath been generally, tho' erroneouſly, thought.

ON the 27th of *April*, 1584, theſe Adventurers ſet Sail from the *Thames*; and having paſſed by the *Canaries* and the *Weſt-Indies*, (a Circuit both needleſs and unhealthy, but through the Inexperience of thoſe Times thought neceſſary) they fell in, on the 2d of *July*, with the Coaſt of *Florida*,

Florida. For that was the Name which all this *Northern* Continent from Cape *Florida* then bore, there being yet no distinct Settlements, which gave particular Names to the several Places along the Coast. They were met at Sea with a most delicate and delightful Smell; and soon after making the Land, they coasted it along for about an hundred and twenty Miles, without finding any convenient Harbour. The first they saw, they entered with much Difficulty; and having returned Thanks to God, they went ashore to view the Country, and to take Possession of it in the Queen's Name. The Place of their first Landing was a low and sandy Beach; but it yielded such a wonderful Abundance of Grapes, as very much surprised and delighted them. Every little Shrub was covered with them, and the Tops of the tallest Cedars were over-run and loaded with their Clusters. 1584.

THEY concluded, that the Place of their Landing was on the main Continent of *America*; but going up to the Top of a small Eminence at a little Distance from the Shore, they perceived it to be an Island, of about twenty, or as Mr. *Hariot* judged, of fifteen Miles in Length, and six in Breadth. This Island was called *Wococon*, and lay between Cape *Hatteras* and Cape *Fear*; and must therefore be the Island of *Ocacock*, or at least some of the other small Islands along that Coast. For it cannot be, by *With* and *Hariot*'s Plan, *Roanoke*, or any other of those which beset and stop up the Mouth of *Albemarle* Sound, in *North-Carolina*, as has been commonly supposed. It was covered with tall and stately Trees, Cedars, Pines, Cypress, Sassafras, and many others of excellent Smell and Quality; and abounded in Deer, Conies, and Wild-fowl, in incredible Numbers.

THEY saw none of the Natives, 'till the third Day after their Landing, when they spied three in a Canoe. One of them went ashore, and waited without any Signs of Fear, till the *English* rowed to him. He spoke much to them in his own Language, and then went boldly aboard their Vessels. They gave him a Shirt, a Hat, Wine, and Meat, with which he was much pleased. Having attentively viewed every thing, he went away; and within half an Hour he had loaded his Canoe with Fish, which he brought and divided between the Ship and the Bark.

THE next Day several Canoes came, and in one of them the King's Brother. His Name was *Granganameo*; the King was called *Wingina*, and the Country *Wingandacoa*. The King himself at that Time lay, at his chief Town, ill of the Wounds which he had lately received in a Battle. *Granganameo*, leaving his Canoes at some Distance, went

to

1584. to the Point of Land where the *Engliſh* had gone to the *Indian* the Day before. Having ſpread a Mat, he ſat down upon it; and when the *Engliſh* came to him well armed, he ſhewed no Fear; but made Signs to them to ſit down, ſtroaking his own Head and Breaſt, and then theirs, to expreſs his Love. The Natives were a proper, well-proportioned People, very civil in their Behaviour, and highly reſpectful to *Granganameo*. For none of them ſat down, or ſpoke a Word in his Preſence, except four; on whom the *Engliſh* alſo beſtowed Preſents. But *Granganameo* took them all from them, and made Signs, that every thing belonged to him. After ſome ſmall Traffick, he went away; but returning in two Days, he eat and drank very merrily with them. Not long after, he brought his Wife and Children on board. They were of mean Stature, but well-favoured, and very baſhful and modeſt. His Wife had a Band of white Coral about her Forehead, and Bracelets of Pearl in her Ears, hanging down to her Middle, of the Bigneſs of large Peaſe. As to the reſt, they were decked with red Copper, and ſuch Ornaments, as are at preſent in Faſhion and Eſteem among our *Indians*.

AFTER this, there came down, from all Parts, great Numbers of People, with Leather, Coral, and divers Kinds of Dyes. But when *Granganameo* was preſent, none durſt trade but himſelf, and thoſe, who wore red Copper on their Heads, as he did. He would have engaged a Bag of Pearl for a Suit of Armour; but the *Engliſh* refuſed, as not regarding it, that they might thereby the better learn, where it grew. He was very juſt to his Promiſe; for they often truſted him, and he never failed to come within his Day to keep his Word. He commonly ſent the *Engliſh* every Day a Brace of Bucks, Conies, Hares, and Fiſh; and ſometimes Melons, Walnuts, Cucumers, Peaſe, and divers Kinds of Roots. And the *Engliſh*, to try the Strength and Goodneſs of the Soil, put ſome of their Peaſe into the Ground, which grew wonderfully, and were found in ten Days time fourteen Inches high.

AN Acquaintance being thus contracted by mutual Returns of Kindneſs and Beneficence, Captain *Amidas*, with ſeven more, ventured up the River *Occam*, as they call it, which muſt be *Pamptico* Sound. The next Evening they came to the Iſle of *Roanoke*, at the Mouth of *Albemarle* Sound, about ſeven Leagues, as they ſay, from the Harbour, where they firſt entered. But this is a groſs Miſtake, and muſt be an Error in the Copy. For by the Scale in *With*'s Map, it cannot be leſs than thirty Leagues, from *Wocoon* to *Roanoke*. On this Iſland they found a ſmall

Town,

Town, consisting of nine Houses; in one of which *Granganameo* lived. He was absent; but his Wife entertained them with wonderful Courtesy and Kindness. She made some of her People draw their Boat up, to prevent it's being injured by the Beating of the Surge; some she ordered to bring them ashore on their Backs; and others, to carry their Oars to the House, for Fear of being stole. When they came into the House, she took off their Cloaths and Stockings, and washed them, as likewise their Feet in warm Water. When their Dinner was ready, they were conducted into an inner Room (for there were five in the House, divided by Mats) where they found *Hominy* *, boiled Venison, and roasted Fish; and as a Desert, Melons, boiled Roots, and Fruits of various Sorts. While they were at Meat, two or three of her Men came in with their Bows and Arrows, which made the *English* take to their Arms. But she, perceiving their Distrust, ordered their Bows and Arrows to be broken, and themselves to be beaten out of the Gate. In the Evening the *English* returned to their Boat; and putting a little off from Shore, lay at Anchor. At which she was much concerned, and brought their Supper, half boiled, Pots and all to the Shore Side; and seeing their Jealousy, she ordered several Men, and thirty Women, to sit all Night upon the Shore, as a Guard; and sent five Mats to cover them from the Weather. In short, she omitted nothing, that the most generous Hospitality and hearty Desire of pleasing could do, to entertain them. 1584.

AND this was the fartheſt Discovery made upon this first Voyage, except some confused and uncertain Accounts of the Country, which they gathered from the *Indians*. They returned to *England* about the Middle of *September*, carrying with them two of the Natives, *Manteo* and *Wanchese*; and their Discovery was so welcome there, that the Queen herself was pleased to name the Country VIRGINIA, in Memory of it's having been first found out in the Reign of a Virgin Queen. Or as some have been pleased to gloss and interpret it, because it still seemed to retain the *Virgin* Purity and Plenty of the first Creation, and the People their primitive Innocency of Life and Manners. And soon after their Return, Mr. *Ralegh* was elected, together with Sir *William Courtenay*, Knight of the Shire for the County of *Devon*. On the 14th of *December*, he caused a Bill to be brought into the House, to confirm his Patent for discovering foreign Countries; which being committed to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain *Hatton*, Secretary *Walsingham*, Sir *Philip Sidney*,

* A Food made of *Indian* Corn, or Maize, beaten and carefully husked, something like Furmety in *England*; and is an excellent Dish various Ways.

1584. *Sidney*, Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *Richard Greenvil*, Sir *William Courtenay*, and others, it was in a few Days passed, after many Arguments and a Proviso added. And not long after, the Queen was pleased to Knight him, upon Occasion, it is said, of this grateful Discovery. But Mr. *Osborne*, an ingenious Observer on her Reign, says with Respect to Sir *Francis Vere*, a Man nobly descended, and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, exactly qualified, that they, with such others, were set apart in her Judgment for military Services. Neither did she ever raise them above Knighthood; saying, when sollicited to make *Vere* a Baron, That in his proper Sphere, and her Estimation, he was above it already.

1585. THE advantageous Accounts, which these first Adventurers gave of the Fertility, Pleasantness, and Wholesomeness of the Country, induced Sir *Richard Greenvil* himself to make a Voyage thither the next Year. And he accordingly set out from *Plimouth* the 9th of *April*, with seven Ships. Having made the usual Circuit of the *Canaries* and *West-Indies*, where they took two rich *Spanish* Prizes, and forced a profitable Trade, they fell in with the Continent of *America* near Cape *Fear*, and were in great Danger of being lost upon it. But having happily escaped, they came to an Anchor off the Island of *Wococon* the 26th of *May*. They immediately sent to the Isle of *Roanoke*, to *Wingina* the King; and Mr. *Arundel* went to the Main, with *Manteo*, who proved throughout their whole Stay, very faithful and useful to them. Soon after, the General, Sir *Richard Greenvil*, went himself to the Main, with a select Body of Men; and ranging about, discovered several *Indian* Towns. At one of them the *Indians* stole a Silver Cup; for which they burnt their Town, and destroyed their Corn, and so returned to their Ships at *Wococon*. At *Hatteras*, whither they went soon after, *Granganameo*, the King's Brother, came aboard the Admiral with *Manteo*. This is the last Visit he made to the *English*; for sometime this Year he died, and in him they lost a sincere and hearty Friend.

SIR *Richard Greenvil*, having only made that small Excursion on the Continent, returned to *England* this Summer. In his Way home, he took another *Spanish* Prize, of three hundred Tons, richly laden, and with her arrived at *Plimouth* the 18th of *September*. But he left behind him an hundred and eight Persons, as a Colony, to keep Possession of, and inhabit the Country. Of these he constituted Mr. *Ralph Lane* Governor, a military Man of Note, who was afterwards Knighted, and applying himself to the Sea Service, was of eminent Command in the *English* Navy. With him remained Captain *Philip Amidas*, as Admiral,

and

one of the Commanders in Chief in the firſt Adventure; Mr. *Thomas Hariot*; Captain *Stafford*; Mr. *Kendal*; with ſeveral others of Name in the Expedition. 1585.

THIS Colony choſe *Roanoke*, an Iſland at the Mouth of *Albemarle* Sound, for the Place of their Habitation; and their chief Employment was to reconnoitre and view the Country. Their fartheſt Diſcovery to the *Southward* was *Secotan*, an *Indian* Town, by their Reckoning, eighty Leagues from *Roanoke*, lying up between the Rivers *Pampticoe* and *Neus*, in *North-Carolina*. To the *Northward* they went an hundred and thirty Miles to the *Cheſapeakes*, a Nation of *Indians*, ſeated on a ſmall River, to the *South* of our Bay, now called *Elſabeth* River, from whom, as theſe firſt Diſcoverers tell us, the Bay itſelf took its Name. But ſome pretend to give another Derivation of this Word; and ſay, that *Cheſapeake* ſignified, in the *Indian* Language, *The Mother of Waters*; implying, that it was the Parent and grand Reſervoir of all the great Rivers within it. But this is a dark and uncertain Gueſs; eſpecially conſidering the Unſtableneſs and vaſt Mutability of the *Indian* Tongues, and that no body at preſent can pretend to underſtand their Language at that time. The beſt Authority that I have met with for this Derivation, is what a Gentleman of Credit once aſſured me, that in a very old *Spaniſh* Map, which he had ſeen, our Bay was laid down under the Name of *Madre des Acquas*, or ſome Expreſſion to the like Purpoſe. This Town of the *Cheſapeakes*, we are told, for Pleaſantneſs of Situation, for Temperature of Clime, Fertility of Soil, and Commodiouſneſs to the Sea, was not to be excelled by any in the World. To the *Northweſt*, theſe Diſcoverers went up *Albemarle* Sound and *Chowan* River, an hundred and thirty Miles, to a Nation of *Indians* called the *Chawonocks*, inhabiting above the Fork of that River, where one Branch takes the Name of *Meherrin*, and the other of *Nottoway*.

THE King of the *Chawonocks*, whoſe Name was *Menatonon*, was lame, but the moſt ſenſible and underſtanding *Indian* they had met with. He amuſed Mr. *Lane* and his Company with a Story of a Copper Mine, and of a Pearl Fiſhery, which by the Deſcription was ſome where upon our Coaſt, and with a ſtrange Relation of the Head of the River *Moratuc*, now called *Roanoke*. This River was deſcribed, as ſpringing out of a Rock, ſo nigh the Sea, that in high Winds the Surge beat over into the Spring. And the *Engliſh* very ſanguinely concluded this Sea to be either the Bay of *Mexico*, or the *South* Sea, or at leaſt ſome Arm that opened into it. Having their Heads filled with theſe chimerical

1585. chimerical Fancies, they formed many Schemes, and undertook a very fatiguing and hazardous Voyage up that River. And so eager were they, and resolutely bent upon this golden Discovery, that they could not be perswaded to return, as long as they had one Pint of Corn a Man left, and two Mastif Dogs, which being boiled with Sassafras Leaves, might afford them some Sustenance in their Way back. But after some Days spent in vain, and having undergone much Misery and Danger, they at last returned, and joyfully arrived at their old Habitation on *Roanoke* Island.

THE Death of *Granganameo* had caused a great Alteration in the Affairs of the Colony. For whilst he lived, his Credit with the King, joined to the Interest of *Ensenore*, their Father, had restrained his Perfidy and Malice, and kept him within Bounds. But upon the Death of *Granganameo*, he changed his Name from *Wingina* to *Pemissapan*, and became a secret but bitter Enemy to the *English*. To his Machinations chiefly were owing the many Hardships and Dangers, they had encountered in their last Journey up the River *Chowan*. For he had given secret Intelligence to those *Indians* of the coming of the *English*; and had craftily insituated Jealousies into the *Indians* of the *English*, and into the *English* of the *Indians*. But a Rumour being spread, that Mr. *Lane* and his Company were all either slain or starved in this Journey, he began to act more openly. He blaspheméd the God of the *English*, and endeavoured, by all the Devices he could, to hurt and annoy them. And *Ensenore*, his aged Father, the best Friend the *English* had left after the Death of *Granganameo*, lost all his Credit to assist or serve them. But their Return soon after, and their bringing the Son of *Menatonon*, their greatest King, Prisoner, joined to the Testimonies of *Manteo*, and three other *Indians*, that went with them, how little they valued any People they met, or feared Hunger, Death, or any thing else, restrained his Devices for the present, and brought *Ensenore* again into Credit and Esteem.

1586. SOON after, *Menatonon*, King of the *Chawonocks*, sent a Present of Pearl to Mr. *Lane*; and *Okisco*, King of *Weopomeoke*, (another powerful Nation, possessing all that Country from *Albemarle* Sound and *Chowan* River, quite to the *Chesapeakes* and our Bay) came himself, with twenty four of his principal Men, to own Subjection to the Queen of *England*. All which so wrought on the Heart of *Wingina*, that by *Ensenore*'s Persuasions, they came and made Weirs for the *English*, when they were ready to famish, and planted their Fields of Corn, which they intended to abandon. But this good Intelligence was soon broke off by the

the Death of *Enfenore*, which happened on the 20th of *April*. For *Wingina*, under Pretence of ſolemnizing his Father's Funeral, had laid a Scheme of drawing together ſixteen or eighteen hundred *Indians*, and of cutting off all the *Engliſh* at once. But his Deſign took Wind, and was at laſt fully diſcovered to Mr. *Lane* by his Priſoner *Skico*, King *Menatonon*'s Son. Then the *Engliſh*, in their Turn, endeavoured to ſeize all the Canoes upon *Roanoke*, and thereby to have all the *Indians* in the Iſland at their Mercy. But they took the Alarm, and after a ſmall Skirmiſh, in which five or ſix *Indians* were ſlain, the reſt eſcaped and fled into the Woods. After this, neither Side cared much for truſting the other; and at laſt, after much Tricking and Diſſimulation on both Parts, *Wingina* was entrapped by the *Engliſh*, and ſlain, with eight of his chief Men. This is the Account of that Action, as it is delivered by the Perſons concerned in it. But I find, that Mr. *Hariot*, who was likewiſe upon the Spot, blames the Violence and Forwardneſs of the *Engliſh*; and thinks, that the Cauſes of Suſpicion and Reſentment had been better diſſembled and paſſed over. 1586.

In the Time of theſe Confuſions and Broils with the *Indians*, Mr. *Lane* had been obliged, through Want of Proviſions, to ſend Captain *Stafford*, with twenty more, to *Croatan*, on the *South* Part of Cape *Look-out*, to ſhift for themſelves, and to ſee, if they could ſpy any Sail paſs by the Coaſt. In like Manner he detached Mr. *Prideaux*, with ten, to *Hatteras*, upon the ſame Deſign; and other ſmall Parties he ſent to the Main, to live upon Roots and Oyſters. Seven Days after the Death of *Wingina*, Captain *Stafford*, (who through the whole Voyage was very vigilant and induſtrious, and ſpared no Labour or Danger, to perform any ſerious and important Service, committed to him) ſent Mr. *Lane* Word, that he deſcried twenty three Sail of Ships; and the next Day, he came himſelf with a Letter from Sir *Francis Drake*. Sir *Francis* was then returning from an Expedition againſt the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*, where he had taken *Carthagena*, and the Capital City of *Hiſpaniola*; and had burnt St. *Anthony*, and St. *Helena*, on the Coaſt of *Florida*; and done much other Damage to the Enemy. He had Orders from the Queen to viſit the Colony of *Virginia* in his Return, and to afford them ſuch Aſſiſtance and Encouragement, as was proper. He therefore offered to ſupply their Wants, and to do any thing elſe, in his Power, towards their Relief and the Furtherance of the Undertaking; and after mature Deliberation, he appointed them a Ship of ſeventy Tons, with an hundred

1586. hundred Men, and four Months Provisions, besides two Barks and four small Boats, with able Masters and sufficient Gangs. But just as all was ready, there arose such a Storm, as had like to have driven the whole Fleet ashore. Many Ships were forced out to Sea, among which was that lately given to the Colony, with all their Provisions and Company aboard.

THIS Accident did not discourage the Admiral, but he allotted them another Ship of an hundred and seventy Tons, with all Provisions as before, to carry them to *England* the next *August*, or when they should have made such Discoveries as they thought sufficient. But their Harbour, which was very indifferent, would not receive a Ship of her Burthen; and to lie in the open Road, exposed to the Winds and Sea, was very dangerous. And therefore, after Consultation, it was unanimously agreed, to desire the Admiral to take them home with him in his Fleet; for they had already undergone much Misery and Danger, and there appeared but little Hopes of Sir *Richard Greenvil*'s Return. And so this first Attempt towards a Settlement became abortive, and they all arrived safe at *Portsmouth* the latter End of *July*, 1586. But in his Way home, Sir *Francis Drake* touched on the Coast of *New-England*; where he landed, and spent two or three Days in trading with the Natives, and one of the *Indian* Kings came, and submitted himself to Queen *Elizabeth*.

UPON this Voyage, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, by the Queen's Advice and Directions, sent, at no small Expence, Mr. *John With*, a skilful and ingenious Painter, to take the Situation of the Country, and to paint, from the Life, the Figures and Habits of the Natives, their Way of Living, and their several Fashions, Modes, and Superstitions; which he did with great Beauty and Exactness. There was one *Theodore de Bry*, who afterwards published, in the Year 1624, the beautiful *Latin* Edition of Voyages, in six Volumes, *Folio*, a most curious and valuable Work. He being in *England* soon after, by the Means of the Rev. Mr. *Richard Hackluyt*, then of *Christ's-Church*, in *Oxford*, who, *De Bry* tells us, had himself seen the Country, obtained from Mr. *With* a Sight of these Pieces, with Permission to take them off in Copper Plates. These, being very lively and well done, he carried to *Frankfort*, on the *Maine*, where he published a noble Edition of them, with *Latin* Explanations, out of *John Wechelius*'s Press, in the Year 1590. And these are the Originals from which Mr. *Beverley*'s, and the Cuts of many of our late Writers and Travellers, have been chiefly imitated. And to shew, that the

Inhabitants

Inhabitants of *England* were once as wild and barbarous as these of *Virginia*, Mr. *With* gave him the Figures of three of the *Picts* and two of their Neighbours, that he had found delineated in an old *English* History; which were accordingly published with them, and was no mean or impolitic Device, to recommend the Prosecution of the Enterprise to the *English* Nation. 1586

BUT besides this Painter, Sir *Walter* sent upon this Voyage a Domestick of his, one Mr. *Thomas Hariot*, a Mathematician, and highly in his Patron's Intimacy and Friendship. He was a Man of Learning, and a very observing and understanding Person, and went chiefly to make Observations on the Situation of the Country, and to assist Mr. *With* in the Plan. After his Return, to obviate the clamorous and unjust Reports of some of the Company, he published a small Treatise concerning the Country, divided into three Parts. The first treats of such Commodities, as would be useful towards the Improvement of Commerce; the second, of those natural Products of the Earth, and of such Fish, Fowl, and Beasts, as would contribute to the Sustenance of Man, and the Support of human Life; and the third, of the Trees and Timber, and other proper Materials for building Houses, Ships, and the like. After which he subjoins the following Account of the Doctrines and Manners of the Natives.

THEY believed, that there is one chief God, who hath existed from all Eternity: That he created the World; but first made other Gods of a principal Order, to be his Instruments in the Creation and Government thereof: That next the Sun, Moon, and Stars were created, as petty Gods, and as Instruments to those other Gods of a superior Order: That then the Waters were created, out of which were formed all Creatures: That a Woman was first made; who, by the Congress of one of the Gods, conceived and brought forth Children; and that thence Mankind had their Beginning. They thought, the Gods were all of human Shape, and therefore represented them by Images, which they placed in their Temples; and they worshipped, prayed, sung, danced, and made many Offerings to them. They held the Immortality of the Soul; which after Death, according to it's Works in the Flesh, was either carried up to the Tabernacles of the Gods, to eternal Happiness; or else to *Popogusso* (a great Pit at the furthest Parts of the Earth, where the Sun sets) into perpetual Fire and Torment. And this Doctrine they supported by the Authority of two Persons, who, as they pretended, had risen from the Dead.

1586. THESE Opinions were thought to make but slight Impressions on their *Werowances*, or Kings and Rulers; or upon their Priests, and other Persons of Figure among them. For that Christian Custom, for the Great and Eminent to free their Consciences from the Shackles of a Creed, and exempt their Actions from the unwieldy Clog of Religion and Morality, had reached even among those wild and savage Nations. But these Doctrines had a great Influence on the common Sort. They kept them in proper Subjection to their Rulers; and made them very sollicitous to obtain the Bliss, and avoid the Torments of the next Life.

THEY were not however so firm to their own Doctrines, but that they were very open to receive any Instructions from the *English*. Their Compasses, Perspective Glasses, Burning Glasses, Clocks, Books, Writing, Guns, and other Instruments and Inventions, so exceeded their Capacities, and amazed them, that they thought them to be the Works of Gods rather than Men; or at least, that the Gods had taught the *English*, how to make them. This caused them to give great Credit to whatever they said concerning God and Religion. And *Wingina* himself would often be at Prayers with them; and when he was sick, which, he thought, proceeded from having offended the *English* and their God, he would send for some of them, to pray, and be a Means to their God, of his living with him after Death; as also did many others. And once, when their Corn was much hurt and withered with a long Drought, thinking it proceeded from some Injury done the *English*, they came to them in Flocks, and begged them to pray to their God to preserve their Corn, for which they promised, when it was ripe, to give them a Part.

AND this high Opinion of the *English* was greatly encreased, by a marvellous Accident. The Country was that Year afflicted with an epidemical Disease, which was observed to fall upon none, but those Nations, which had endeavoured to injure or betray the *English*. This wrought many extravagant and superstitious Opinions, which were much confirmed by the Healthiness of the *English* Colony. Some thought it was the Work of the *English* God; and others, that they themselves shot invisible Bullets from the Place, where they dwelt. Others observing, that the *English* had no Women of their own, nor cared for any of theirs, thought they were not born of Women, but were Men of an ancient Generation, risen again to Immortality; that there were more of them still in the Air, as yet invisible and without Bodies, who would afterwards come, and destroy their Generation, and take their Places; and that these,

theſe, by the Entreaty, or out of Love to the *Engliſh*, made the People die, as they did, by ſhooting inviſible Bullets into them. And their Phyſicians, to cover their Ignorance, would make them believe, that they ſucked out of the Bodies of the Sick Leaden Bullets in the Strings of Blood. In ſhort, *Wingina* and others were ſo firmly perſuaded, that it happened through their Means, that when any of their own Enemies had affronted or abuſed the *Engliſh*, they would deſire them to make them die in the ſame Manner. And altho' the *Engliſh* remonſtrated to them the Unrighteouſneſs of their Requeſt, and how diſagreeable it was to God; yet becauſe the Effect fell out ſoon after, they would come and return them Thanks in their Way; thinking, altho' they had denied them in Words, yet they had in Reality fully anſwered their Deſire. 1586.

HE likewiſe tells us of the great Eſteem and Veneration, in which the Natives held a Plant, which grew ſpontaneouſly in the Country, and was by them called *Uppowoc*, but is now well known by the Name of *Tobacco*; derived, it is ſaid, from the Iſland of *Tobago*, one of the *Caribbees* in the *Weſt-Indies*, where it grew in vaſt Quantities. The Leaves of this they cured and dried, and then being rubbed into a Sort of Bran and Duſt, they put it into Earthen Tubes, and drew the Smoke through the Mouth. They thought this Plant of ſo great Worth and Virtue, that even the Gods themſelves were delighted with it. And therefore they ſometimes made ſacred Fires, and inſtead of a Sacrifice threw in this Duſt; and when they were caught in a Tempeſt, they would ſprinkle it into the Air and Water. Upon all their new fiſhing Nets they would caſt ſome of it; and when they had eſcaped any remarkable Danger, they would throw ſome of this Duſt into the Air, with ſtrange diſtorted Geſtures, ſometimes ſtriking the Earth with their Feet, in a Kind of Time and Meaſure, ſometimes clapping their Hands, and throwing them up on high, looking up to the Heavens, and uttering barbarous and diſſonant Words.

MR. *Harriot* alſo, in paſſing through their Towns, would ſhew them the Bible, and explain the Contents: That in that Book was taught the true and only God, his Omnipotence, the Doctrine of Salvation by Jeſus Chriſt, and the other principal Heads of our Religion. But he was obliged to tell them, that there was no particular Virtue in the material Book itſelf, but only in the Doctrines, which it contained. For they paid their Kind of Adoration to the Book, by handling, hugging, and kiſſing it, and by applying it to their Head and Breaſt, and ſtroking it over the other Parts of their Body.

1586. AND here, if it were an Imputation worthy of Notice, I might manifestly remark the great Injustice, done to this learned Mathematician and pious Scholar. For as Sir *Walter Raleigh* was aspersed with holding atheistical Principles, so it has been said, that he imbibed them from this Mr. *Hariot*, whom he retained in his Service with a handsome Pension, to teach him the mathematical Sciences at his leisure Hours. But an orthodox Divine, Dr. *Richard Corbet*, afterwards a Bishop, tells us, that *Hariot*'s deep Mine was without Dross. And Mr. *George Chapman*, another Contemporary, a grave and virtuous Author, says, That his Judgment and Knowledge in all Kinds were deep and incomparable, and as much to be admired, as his most blameless Life, and the right sacred Expence of his Time, were to be honoured and reverenced. To which might be added other Testimonies, which have been carefully collected by the diligent and industrious Mr. *Oldys*, in his accurate Life of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, lately prefixed to his History of the World; who likewise shews, that the famous *French* Philosopher, *Descartes*, borrowed much of his Light from this excellent Mathematician; and that the learned Dr. *Wallis* gave the Preference to *Hariot*'s Improvements, before *Descarte*'s, altho' he had the Advantage of coming after, and being assisted by him.

As to this groundless Aspersion, the Truth of it perhaps was, that Sir *Walter* and Mr. *Hariot* were the first, who ventured to depart from the beaten Tract of the Schools, and to throw off and combat some hoary Follies and traditionary Errors, which had been riveted by Age, and rendered sacred and inviolable in the Eyes of weak and prejudiced Persons. Sir *Walter* is said to have been first led to this, by the manifest Detection, from his own Experience, of their erroneous Opinions concerning the *Torrid Zone*; and he intended to have proceeded farther in the Search after more solid and important Truths, 'till he was chid and restrained by the Queen, into whom some Persons had instilled a Notion, that such Doctrine was against God. And this was sufficient Ground for Men, zealous without Knowledge, and stiffly orthodox, with a Charity usual to some such in all Ages, to brand him with the odious Names of *Atheist* and *Dane*; altho' he was an eminent Assertor of God and Providence, and has in many Parts of his Writings, especially in the History of the World, given stronger Evidences of his Christian Faith, than any of his Detractors ever did of theirs.

Mr. *Lane* and his Company carried home some Tobacco, which, *Camden* thinks, was the first, that ever was brought

brought to *England*. And Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a Man of Gaiety and Fashion, readily gave into it, and by his Interest and Example, soon brought it into such Vogue at Court, that many great Ladies, as well as Noblemen, made no Scruple sometimes to take a Pipe. We are not informed, whether the Queen made Use of it herself; but it is certain, she gave great Countenance and Encouragement to it, as a Vegetable of singular Strength and Power, which might therefore prove of Benefit to Mankind, and Advantage to the Nation. So far, as Mr. *Oldys* well observes, was this wise Princess from the refined Taste of her Successor, who held Tobacco in such Abomination, that he not only refused the Use of it himself, but endeavoured to destroy and suppress it among his Subjects, and would thereby have robbed the Crown of what has since proved one of its noblest Jewels and most considerable Revenues, and the Nation of a very advantageous and important Branch of Trade. 1586

SIR *Walter Raleigh*'s Tobacco-Box, with some of his Pipes, was lately extant, and laid up among the Rarities in the *Museum* of that curious Antiquarian, the late Mr. *Ralph Thoresby*, of *Leeds*, in *Yorkshire*. There are also some humerous Stories still remembred, concerning his first Use of Tobacco; particularly his Wager with the Queen, that he would determine exactly the Weight of the Smoke which went off in a Pipe of Tobacco. This he did by first weighing the Tobacco, and then carefully preserving and weighing the Ashes; and the Queen readily granted, that what was wanting in the prime Weight, must be evaporated in Smoke. And when she paid the Wager, she said pleasantly, that she had heard of many Labourers in the Fire, that turned their Gold into Smoke, but *Raleigh* was the first, who had turned his Smoke into Gold. It is also related, that a Country Servant of his, bringing him a Tankard of Ale and Nutmeg into his Study, as he was intently engaged at his Book, smoaking a Pipe of Tobacco, the Fellow was so frightened at seeing the Smoke reek out of his Mouth, that he threw the Ale into his Face, in order to extinguish the Fire, and ran down Stairs, alarming the Family, and crying out, His Master was on Fire, and before they could get up, would be burnt to Ashes.

BUT whilst Mr. *Lane* and the Colony were in the above mentioned Streights and Difficulties in *America*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was not idle at home. He provided a Ship of an hundred Tons, and loaded her with Plenty of all things necessary for the Settlement; but it being *Easter* before she departed, Mr. *Lane* and his Company had shipped themselves

1586. selves for *England* in Sir *Francis Drake*'s Fleet, a few Days before her Arrival. Having therefore spent some Time in seeking them up the Country without Effect, they returned that Summer to *England*, with all their Provision.

THOSE Authors who will have Sir *Walter Ralegh* to have been in *Virginia*, say, that he came upon this Voyage: But the Conduct of it was so weak and trifling, that I cannot be easily induced to believe it agreeable to a Person of his Sense and Resolution; who, had he been there, would certainly have made some vigorous Searches and Enquiries, and left some useful Remarks on the Country, as he did in his Voyage to *Guiana*. Indeed it does not appear, that Sir *Walter* was ever in his Colony himself. The only Authority of Weight for it, that I have met with, is the Translation of Mr. *Hariot*'s Treatise, which mentions the Actions of those, *qui Generosum D.* Walterum Ralegh *in eam regionem comitati sunt*. But this, I am inclined to think, must be an Error of the Translator, who seems to have been a *Frenchman*, and might not therefore perfectly understand our Language; and I could never yet get a Sight of *Hariot*'s original Discourse, which was written in *English*, but have been obliged to make Use of the *Latin* Translation, published by *De Bry*, at *Frankfort*, 1590. But if Mr. *Hacklayt* ever was in *Virginia*, as we are expressly told by *De Bry*, it must have been, I think, either in this Voyage, or that immediately following by Sir *Richard Greenvil*, of which we have such brief and summary Accounts. For it is not to be supposed, that a Person of his Figure and Consideration, would have been entirely passed over in the full and particular Relations, that we have of all the other Voyages.

ABOUT a Fortnight after the Departure of this Ship, Sir *Richard Greenvil* arrived with three Ships more, well provided; but he neither found that Ship, according to his Expectation, nor could hear any News of the Colony, which he himself had seated and left there the Year before. Therefore, after travelling in vain up and down to seek them, finding their Habitation abandoned, and being unwilling to lose the Possession of the Country, he landed fifty Men on the Island of *Roanoke*, plentifully furnished with all Provisions for two Years, and so returned to *England*.

THESE unlucky Crosses and Accidents gave Occasion to many Persons to discant on their Proceedings, to the Disparagement of Sir *Richard Greenvil*. But their Censure was very unjust. For to plant Colonies abroad, and to diffuse and propagate our Nation and our Trade, is certainly a most princely and noble Enterprize, and highly worthy a Person

Perſon of his eminent and illuſtrious Family. And indeed he ſeems to have embarked in the Affair with great Heartineſs and Reſolution, and to have hazarded and expoſed his Perſon very freely in the Proſecution of it. And it was upon Occaſion of theſe Murmurs and Reports, that Mr. *Hariot* wrote and publiſhed his Diſcourſe, before mentioned. 1586.

THE next Year, three Ships were ſent, under the Command of Mr. *John White*, who was appointed Governor of the Colony, with twelve Aſſiſtants, as a Council. To theſe Sir *Walter Ralegh* gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the Name of the Governor and Aſſiſtants of the City of *Ralegh* in *Virginia*, with expreſs Directions to ſeat at *Cheſapeake*; which, however uſeful and important, they nevertheleſs diſobeyed and neglected. Having taken the old Route by the *Weſt-Indies*, they had like to have been caſt away upon *Cape-Fear*, through the Error or Deſign of *Simon Ferdinando*. He had been with Captain *Amidas* in the firſt Expedition; and being made Pilot in this, was ſuſpected of a Deſign to ruin the whole Voyage. But being prevented by the Vigilancy of Captain *Stafford*, they arrived all ſafe at *Hatteras* the 22d of *July*. 1587.

THEY went immediately to *Roanoke*, to look for the fifty Men, left there by Sir *Richard Greenvil*, but they found nothing but the Bones of a Man; and where the Plantation had been, the Houſes were undeſtroyed, but overgrown with Weeds, and the Fort defaced. They refitted the Houſes; and Mr. *George How*, one of the Council, ſtragling abroad, was ſlain by the *Indians*. Soon after, Captain *Stafford*, with twenty Men, and *Manteo*, who, I believe, had been again in *England* this Voyage, went to *Croatan*, to enquire, if they could hear any News of the Colony. There they underſtood, that Mr. *How* had been ſlain by ſome of *Wingina*'s Men of *Daſſamonpeake*; that the fifty, left the Year before, had been ſuddenly ſet upon by three hundred *Indians*, of *Secotan*, *Aquaſcogoc*, and *Daſſamonpeake*; that after a ſmall Skirmiſh, in which one *Engliſhman* was ſlain, they retired to the Water Side, and having got their Boat, and taken up four of their Fellows gathering Crabs and Oyſters, they went to a ſmall Iſland by *Hatteras*; that they ſtaid there ſome time, but after departed they knew not whither. And with this Account, Captain *Stafford* returned to the Fleet at *Hatteras*.

HOWEVER, Mr. *White* endeavoured to renew and keep up a good Underſtanding with the ſeveral Nations of *Indians* on the Sea-Coaſt. But finding his Offers of Friendſhip not much regarded, he reſolved no longer to defer his Revenge on thoſe of *Daſſamonpeake*. This Nation was ſeated right-

1587. oppoſite to *Roanoke* Iſland, on the Main, in the Neck of Land, between the River now called *Alligator*, and the Narrows. About Midnight, Mr. *White* ſet forward, with Captain *Stafford*, and twenty four Men, whereof *Manteo* was one, who was their Guide, and behaved himſelf as a moſt faithful *Engliſhman*. They landed by Break of Day, and having got beyond the Town, they aſſaulted ſome *Indians* that were ſitting by a Fire. One was ſhot through, and they hoped to have been fully revenged, but were ſoon undeceived, and found that they were their Friends of *Croatan*, come to gather their Corn, becauſe they underſtood, that the *Daſſamonpeake Indians* had fled after the Death of Mr. *How*. *Manteo*, their Countryman, was grieved at the Miſtake; but however, imputed it all to their own Folly. And ſo having gathered what was ripe, and left the reſt unſpoiled, they returned to *Roanoke*.

ON the 13th of *Auguſt*, *Manteo*, according to Command from Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was baptized, and ſtiled Lord of *Roanoke* and *Daſſamonpeake*, in Reward of his Fidelity. And on the 18th, the Governor's Daughter, Wife to *Ananias Dare*, one of the Council, was delivered of a Daughter, which, being the firſt Child born there, was called *Virginia*. And ſoon after, there aroſe a Diſpute between the Governor and his Aſſiſtants or Council, concerning a Perſon to be ſent to *England* to follicit Supplies. All refuſed, except one, who was thought very unequal to the Buſineſs. At laſt, they unanimouſly pitched upon the Governor, as the fitteſt Perſon; and having ſigned a Paper, teſtifying his Unwillingneſs to leave the Colony, they at length prevailed upon him, with much Importunity, to undertake it. Leaving therefore above an hundred Perſons on one of the Iſlands of *Hatteras*, to form a Plantation, he departed, and after many Croſſes and Difficulties, got firſt to *Ireland*, and from thence went to *England*.

AT this time, the Nation was in great Commotion and Apprehenſion of the *Spaniſh* Invaſion and invincible *Armada*, as it was vainly called, and the Queen cauſed frequent Councils to be held, by the oldeſt and moſt experienced Commanders at Sea; and alſo appointed a Council of War, of ſuch Perſons as were in higheſt Repute for military Skill and Knowledge, in order to put the Land Forces of the Kingdom in the beſt Poſture of Defence. For this Purpoſe were choſen the Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knollys*, Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Greenvil*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, and *Ralph Lane*, Eſq; late Governor of *Virginia*, who were therefore all entirely taken up with theſe important Conſultations.

How-

HOWEVER, having laid a Plan of Operations, and made proper Diſpoſitions for the Defence of the Nation, Sir *Walter* found Leiſure to fit out a ſmall Fleet for the Relief of the Colony, at *Biddeford*, early the next Year, which was put under the Command of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and only waited for a fair Wind. But the Alarm of the vaſt and formidable Armament, made by the King of *Spain*, encreaſing, all Ships of Force, then in any Readineſs, received Orders from the State to ſtay in their Harbours, for the Defence of their own Country; and Sir *Richard Greenvil* was perſonally commanded not to depart out of *Cornwall*, where Sir *Walter Raleigh* then was himſelf, muſtering and training the Forces, and performing other Duties of his Office, as Lieutenant of that County. However, Governor *White* laboured ſo ſtrenuouſly with them, that he obtained two ſmall Barks, and put to Sea from Biddeford, the 22d of *April*, 1588. But theſe Veſſels, tho' of little Force, being more intent on a gainful Voyage, than the Relief of the Colony, ran in Chace of Prizes; till at laſt, one of them, meeting with two Ships of War, was, after a bloody Fight, overcome, boarded, and rifled. In this maimed, ranſacked, and ragged Condition, ſhe returned to *England* in a Month's Time; and in about three Weeks after, the other alſo returned, having perhaps taſted of the ſame Fare, at leaſt without performing her intended Voyage, to the Diſtreſs, and as it proved, the utter Deſtruction of the Colony in *Virginia*, and to the great Diſpleaſure of their Patron at home. 1588.

THESE Diſappointments gave much Vexation to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had by this Time expended, as we are authenticly aſſured, not leſs than forty thouſand Pounds, upon the Enterpriſe. He had alſo, not long before, received, as a Reward for his great Services in the *Iriſh* Wars, a very large Grant, out of the Earl of *Deſmond*'s Lands there; the Terms of which he fairly and honeſtly endeavoured to fulfil, by planting thoſe Lands with *Engliſh*, and made Uſe of none of the Arts and Frauds, which others of theſe Grantees were charged withal. So that this great Bounty of the Queen was at preſent rather a Burthen and Charge to him, than any real Profit or Advantage. Beſides which, he was among the foremoſt of the military Geniuſes of that time, who were fired with the *Spaniſh* Invaſion, and proſecuted the War againſt them with great Coſt and Induſtry, and with an incredible Courage and Succeſs. For all theſe Reaſons, Sir *Walter Raleigh* made an Aſſignment, by Indenture, bearing Date the 7th of *March*, 1588-9, to *Thomas Smith*, (afterwards Sir *Thomas Smith*, and a Perſon 1589.

1589. ſon of Note in the Sequel of this Hiſtory) with other Merchants and Adventurers of *London*, and to Governor *White*, and other Gentlemen, for continuing the Plantation of *Virginia*. By this Indenture, he grants to the ſaid *Thomas Smith*, *John White*, and the reſt, according to a Charter, formerly granted for the City of *Raleigh*, free Liberty to carry to *Virginia*, and there inhabit, ſuch of her Majeſty's Subjects, as would willingly accompany them; as alſo to them, their Heirs, or Aſſigns, free Trade and Traffick to and from *Virginia*, or any other Part of *America*, where the ſaid Sir *Walter*, his Heirs, or Aſſigns, did, or might claim any Intereſt, Title, or Privilege. And he did farther, for their Encouragement, and for the common Utility, freely and liberally give them one hundred Pounds, to be employed for planting the Chriſtian Religion in thoſe barbarous and heathen Countries.

AND thus Sir *Walter Raleigh*, having diſengaged himſelf for the preſent from this burthenſome and expenſive Affair, gave a Looſe to his martial Genius, and bent his whole Thoughts againſt the *Spaniards*, which ſoon became the fixed and ruling Paſſion of his Nature; as abaſing the exorbitant Power of *France*, and preventing its ill Conſequences on the Liberties of *Europe*, did, in later Times, engroſs all the Thoughts and Inclinations of King *William*, and was the principal Aim of moſt of his Steps and Actions. And altho' this Compariſon may be thought very unequal with Relation to the Power and Dignity of the two Perſons, yet it will, I think, be found juſt and exact with Reſpect to their Inclinations and Deſigns. For no Man of that Age was more deeply ſenſible of the pernicious Conſequences of the *Spaniſh* Power and Aims, or was more eager and aſſiduous in ſpeaking, writing, and acting againſt them, than Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

1590. BUT theſe new Aſſignees were not ſo diligent and careful of the Buſineſs, as they ought to have been. For it was a Year after, *March*, 1589-90, before any thing was undertaken by them for the Relief of the Colony. Then Mr. *White*, with three Ships, ſet Sail from *Plimouth*; and paſſing by the *Weſt-Indies*, they ſtaid ſome time there, to perform ſome Exploits, as they call them, which was to attack and plunder the *Spaniards*, among whom they got a conſiderable Booty. On the 3d of *Auguſt*, they fell in with ſome low ſandy Iſlands, to the *Weſtward* of *Wococon*. From thence they went to *Croatan*, and ſo to *Hatteras*. There they deſcried a Smoke, at the Place, where the Colony had been left three Years before. The next Morning, they diſcharged ſome Cannon, to give Notice of their Arrival; and

and having fitted out two Boats, Captain *Cooke* and Captain *Spicer* went athore, but found no Man, nor the Sign of any, that had been there lately. The next Day, they prepared to go to *Roanoke*; but the Wind being hard at North-East, one of the Boats, in passing a Bar, was half filled with Water, and the other overset. Captain *Spicer*, with six more, were drowned; but four, who could swim a little, and did not trust themselves to their Legs on the Shoals, but kept in deep Water, were saved by the Care and Dexterity of Captain *Cooke* in the other Boat. This Accident so discomfited the Sailors, that they could hardly be prevailed upon to make any farther Search for the Colony. But indeed, considering the Shoals and Dangers, with their Ignorance and Inexperience of the Coast, which they unfortunately happened upon in this their first Attempt towards a Settlement, it is rather to be wondered, that they met not with more Accidents and Misfortunes, than they really did. 1590.

THE Sailors being at length encouraged by the Forwardness and Readiness of their Captains, two Boats more were fitted out for *Hatteras*, with nineteen Men. When Mr. *White* left the Colony three Years before, they talked of going fifty Miles up into the Main; and it had been agreed between them, that if they left the Place, where they then were, they should write the Name of the Place, to which they went, on some Tree, Door, or Post; and if they had been in any Distress, they should signify it, by making a Cross over it. When they landed therefore, they sounded a Trumpet, but received no Answer; and going up to the Fire, they found, it was nothing but the Grass and some rotten Trees burning. Then searching up and down the Island, they at last found three fair *Roman* Letters carved, C. R. O. but without any Sign of Distress; and looking farther, they saw CROATAN, carved in fair Capital Letters on one of the chief Posts, but still without the Cross, as a Sign of Distress. Their Houses were taken down; and an high Palisado built, after the Manner of a Fort. They likewise found, where their Goods had been buried; but many of them had been dug up, and scattered about, and all were spoiled; yet Mr. *White* knew and distinguished several of his own among them. With this joyful Discovery, as they hoped, of where they were, they returned to their Ships; but had like to have been cast away by a violent Storm, that continued all that Night.

THE next Morning, weighing Anchor for *Croatan*, which was an *Indian* Town on the South Part of Cape *Look-out*, one of their Cables broke, and carried off another

1590. ther Anchor with it. But letting go their third, the Ship went so fast adrift, that she was very near stranding. Discouraged with these Misfortunes, and having but one Anchor left, and their Provisions near spent, they gave over all Thoughts of farther Search for the present, and determined to go to the *West-Indies*, to winter and refresh themselves (chiefly perhaps with more *Spanish* Plunder) and to return in the Spring, to seek their Countrymen. But the Vice-Admiral was obstinately bent upon going directly for *England*; and the Wind being contrary, the rest were obliged, within two Days, to make for the *Western-Islands*, where they arrived the 23d of *September* 1590, and met with many of the Queen's Ships, their own Consort, and divers others. But many suspected, that private Interest was the chief Occasion of their Failure in this Undertaking; and that the Riches, gotten from the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, was the true Reason of their Return, for which the Storm only furnished them with a colourable Pretext. However it is certain, that the Assignees made no farther Search, nor gave themselves any other Trouble about the Matter; but these poor Souls were basely deserted by them, and left a Prey to the barbarous Savages, neither were they ever seen or heard of afterwards.

1591 THE following Year 1591, Sir *Richard Greenvil* was sent, by the Queen, Vice-Admiral to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, with seven Ships of War, and a few other small Vessels, to intercept the *Spanish* Plate-Fleet. At the *Azores*, this small Squadron was surprised by fifty three capital Ships, purposely sent from *Spain*; and Sir *Richard Greenvil*, who was unwilling to leave a great Part of his Men, then on Shore for Water and other Necessaries, to the Insolence and Barbarity of the Islanders, staid so long in getting them off, that he was hemmed in between the Enemy's Fleet and the Island of *Flores*. In this dangerous Situation, he scorned to shew any Signs of Fear, or to owe his Safety to Flight; but he bravely bore down upon the Enemy, and endeavoured to break through them, in which Attempt he maintained a gallant and obstinate Fight, with the best of the *Spanish* Ships, for fifteen Hours together. He was at once laid aboard by the *St. Philip*, a Ship of fifteen hundred Tons and seventy eight large Pieces of Ordinance, and four other of the stoutest Ships in the *Spanish* Fleet, full of Men, in some two hundred, in some five hundred, and in others eight hundred Soldiers, besides Mariners; and he never had less than two large Galleons by his Side, which, from time to time, were relieved by fresh Ships, Men, and Ammunition. Yet he behaved himself with such uncommon Bravery

very and Conduct, that he disabled some, sunk others, and obliged them all to retire. Neither did he ever leave the Deck, tho' wounded in the Beginning of the close Fight, till he received a dangerous Wound in the Body by a Musket Bullet. When he went down to have it dressed, he received another Shot in the Head, and his Surgeon was killed by his Side. By this time also most of his bravest Men were slain, his Ship much disabled, his Deck covered with Dead, and Wounded, and scattered Limbs, and his Powder spent to the very last Barrel. Yet in this Condition he ordered the Vessel to be sunk, but it was prevented by the rest of the Officers; tho' many of the Crew joined with him, and the Master-Gunner, if he had not been restrained, would have killed himself, sooner than fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards*. When the Ship, or rather Wreck, was surrendered, Sir *Richard* was carried on board the *Spanish* Admiral, where he died within two Days, highly admired by the very Enemy, for his extraordinary Courage and Resolution. And when he found the Pangs of Death approach, he said to the Officers, that stood round him, in the *Spanish* Tongue: *Here die I*, Richard Grenvil, *with a joyful and quiet Mind, having ended my Life like a true Soldier, that fought for his Country, Queen, Religion, and Honour:* Thus summing up, in short, all the generous Motives, that fire the Breasts of the truly Brave and Great, to exert themselves beyond the common Pitch of Humanity. 1591.

AND such was the gallant End of this noble Gentleman, who, next to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was the principal Person concerned in this first Adventure of *Virginia*. He was a Man eminently fitted to serve his Country, in Peace or War, by Land or Sea, and was so deeply rooted in the Affection and Esteem of his illustrious Kinsman, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, that he honoured his Death with a particular Relation of the Action by his own excellent Pen, which he caused to be immediately printed the latter End of the same Year 1591, to obviate some Aspersions, cast upon him by some of the *Spaniards*. The rest of the *English* Ships having Sea-Room, fought bravely, and did every thing, that could be expected from valiant Men, whilst they had the Advantage of the Wind. The Lord *Howard* was for even hazarding the whole Fleet in the Rescue of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and for charging up to the Place, where he was engaged. But he was over-ruled by the other Officers, whose Prudence is commended even by Sir *Walter Raleigh*; altho' no Person can certainly say, I think, what might have been the Event, had six Ships of War more beside the

1591. the Privateers, fallen upon an Enemy, whom one Ship alone had for ſo long a time kept in ſuch warm Action. When the Night parted them from the Enemy, they all went off ſafe, and in their Way home took ſeveral rich Prizes. Sir *Richard*'s Ship too, the *Revenge*, of 500 Tons Burthen, and about 20 Iron Guns, made good her Name. For a few Days after ſhe foundered at Sea, and drowned two hundred *Spaniards*, who had been put aboard to carry her to *Spain*.

BUT Sir *Walter Raleigh*, being, by the above-mentioned Aſſignment, eaſed in ſome Meaſure of the Undertaking of *Virginia*, was ſoon engaged by his active and enterpriſing Genius in other Adventures and Diſcoveries. He contributed generouſly towards the Diſcovery of the *North-Weſt* Paſſage, and other things of the like Nature. But having loſt his Royal Miſtreſs's Favour, by debauching one of her Maids of Honour, whom he afterwards married, he undertook in Perſon, in the Year 1595, the Voyage and Diſcovery of *Guiana*, a rich Country up the River *Oronaque*, in *South America*. After his Return, he wrote a moſt excellent Diſcourſe upon his Expedition, in which his chief Aim was to engage the Queen and Nation in the Proſecution of the Enterpriſe, and Settlement of the Country. But all his Reaſons were overpowered by the Envy of ſome great Men to his Perſon and Merit; and altho' he was reſtored to the Queen's Favour, yet he could never get any thing done to Effect in this important and judicious Deſign. However he never quitted it himſelf, but ſent twice immediately after, to make farther Diſcoveries, and to keep up the good Diſpoſitions of the Natives towards the *Engliſh*. Even after his Fall, and when he was in the Tower, he found Means to continue this Deſign; and his laſt Voyage thither, after his Releaſe, with the fatal Conſequences of it, is too well known, to need a particular Relation here. Neither was he, notwithſtanding the Aſſignment, negligent or forgetful of the Colony, which had been ſeated in *Virginia* upon his Account. For he ſent five ſeveral Times, to ſearch after, and relieve them; and laſt he diſpatched *Samuel Mace* of *Weymouth*, in *March* 1602. But he, like all the reſt, performed nothing, but returned with idle Stories and frivolous Allegations.

HOWEVER, theſe Efforts of Sir *Walter* were only intended to recover and bring off thoſe poor People, and no ways in Proſecution of his firſt Deſign of ſettling a Colony. So that all Thoughts of *Virginia* were abandoned, and the Project lay dead for near twelve Years, when it was revived by Captain *Bartholomew Goſnold*, who undertook a Voyage thither, and ſet Sail from *Dartmouth*, on

the

the twenty ſixth of *March* 1602, in a ſmall Bark, with thirty two Men. He kept as far North as the Winds would permit, and was the firſt that came in a direct Courſe to *America*. 1602.

On the 11th of *May*, being about the Latitude of forty three, they made Land, on the Coaſt of *New-England*, as it hath been ſince called. But as all this Continent bore the Name of *Florida*, till the Diſcovery of the *Engliſh* in 1584, ſo afterwards all that Tract of Country, from 34 to 45 Degrees of Northern Latitude, was called *Virginia*, till from different Settlements it got different Names. The Land was low; the Shore white Sand, and rocky, yet overgrown with fair and ſtately Trees. Coming to an Anchor, eight *Indians*, in a Shallop, with Maſt and Sail, came boldly on board them. By their Signs, and by the Shallop and other things, which they had, they judged, that ſome *Biſcayneers* had been fiſhing there. But finding no good Harbour, they weighed, and ſtood to the Southward into the Sea. The next Morning, they found themſelves embayed with a mighty Head-land; and going to the neighbouring Hills, they perceived it to be Part of the Continent, almoſt environed with Iſlands. Here, in a few Hours, they caught more Cod, then they knew, what to do with; from whence the Place obtained the Name of *Cape-Cod*. And they thence alſo concluded, that a good Fiſhery might be found there, in the Months of *March*, *April*, and *May*.

SOON after they went to the Iſlands, and anchored near one of them. They found it four Miles in Compaſs, without Houſe or Inhabitant. In it was a Lake, near a Mile in Circuit; and the reſt ſo overgrown with Vines, which covered all the Trees and Buſhes, that they could ſcarce paſs through them. They likewiſe found Plenty of Strawberries, Raſberries, Gooſberries, and divers other Fruits in Bloom, and therefore called the Iſland *Martha's Vineyard*. They then viſited the reſt of the Iſles, and found them repleniſhed with the like Products. One they named *Elizabeth's Iſland*, in Honour to their ancient Sovereign, in which they planted Wheat, Barley, Oats, and Peaſe, which ſprung up nine Inches in fourteen Days. From hence they went to the Main, where they ſtood for ſome time raviſhed at the Beauty and Delicacy of the Country. But ſoon after returning to *Elizabeth's Iſland*, they ſpent three Weeks in building a Houſe, in a ſmall Iſland of about an Acre of Ground, which ſtood in the Midſt of a large Lake of freſh Water, about three Miles in Circumference.

THEY ſaw ſeveral of the Natives, with whom they made mutual Preſents, and had ſome ſmall Traffick. They were

1602. were of an excellent Conſtitution of Body, active, ſtrong, healthful, and very ingenious, as divers of their Joys teſtified. The baſer Sort would ſteal, but thoſe of better Rank were very civil and juſt. Not one of the *Engliſh* was affected with any Sickneſs; but they rather grew more healthy and ſtrong, notwithſtanding their bad Diet and Lodging. Twelve had reſolved to ſtay; but, conſidering how meanly they were provided, they were at laſt all obliged to leave this Iſland, not without much Sorrow and Reluctancy, and arrived at *Exmouth* the 23d of *July*.

1603. THE Beginning of the next Year, died that ever-memorable and glorious Princeſs, Queen *Elizabeth*, and was ſucceeded by King *James* VI. of *Scotland*. He was ſcarce warm in his Throne, before, as a Preſage of his future weak and inglorious Reign, he confined Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the Tower, for a moſt myſterious and inextricable Plot. This great Man, as he was the firſt Undertaker and Mover of theſe Diſcoveries, is uſually looked upon as the Founder and Father of our Country. And indeed we are proud to own for ſuch, a Perſon of his diſtinguiſhed Merit and Parts; who was one of the brighteſt Ornaments of his Age and Country, highly in the Favour and Eſteem of Queen *Elizabeth*, and afterwards the Sacrifice of her mean and puſillanimous Succeſſor. But yet it muſt be confeſſed, that his Adventurers touched but once, and then ſlightly, on our Country; but ſtill kept on in the ſame unfortunate Tract, on the ſhoaly and importuous Coaſt of *North-Carolina*. Altho' his Judgment ſoon diſtinguiſhed from the Accounts, he received, the Advantages of *Chaſapeake* for ſeating his Capital City of *Raleigh*; and had his Orders been followed, it might perhaps have given a quite different Turn to the Affairs of the Colony. For it would not only have freed them from the Hazards and Difficulties, they encountered on that dangerous Coaſt, and every where have ſupplied them with ſafe and convenient Harbours, but would have naturally led them to the Search and Diſcovery of one of the moſt commodious Countries perhaps in the World, for Shipping and Veſſels.

THE ſame Year 1603, by the Perſuaſions of Mr. *Richard Hackluyt* (a curious and inquiſitive Gentleman, and ſoon after a Prebend of *Weſtminſter*, who publiſhed the noted Collection of Voyages and Travels) the Mayor and Aldermen, with moſt of the Merchants of *Briſtol*, raiſed a Stock of a thouſand Pounds, and fitted out two Veſſels. But firſt they obtained the Leave and Permiſſion of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, as Proprietor of the Country, to make Diſcoveries in *Virginia*. *Martin Pring* was made Captain, an

an understanding Gentleman and able Mariner; and *Robert Saltern*, who had been with Captain *Gosnold* the Year before, was appointed his Assistant and Pilot. But as, for the most Part, they followed Captain *Gosnold*'s Course, their Discoveries were nothing extraordinary or different from his. 1603.

BUT another Bark was this Year sent from *London*, under the Command of Captain *Bartholomew Gilbert*, who had likewise been with Captain *Gosnold*. After some small Trade in the *West-Indies*, they fell in with the Coast of *America* in about 37 Degrees of Northern Latitude; and some Authors say, they run up into *Chesapeake* Bay, where the Captain, going ashore, was killed with four of his Men. This struck such a Damp and Discouragement into the rest, that they immediately weighed Anchor, and returned to *England*, without any further Attempt or Discovery.

TWO Years after, Captain *George Weymouth* was sent by the Earl of *Southampton* and the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, to make Discoveries on the Coast of *Virginia*. He intended to the *Southward* of 39; but was forced by the Winds farther *Northward*, and fell among some Shoals in 41 Deg. 20 Min. But having happily disengaged themselves, on the 18th of *May* they made Land. It appeared to be a main high Land, but they found it an Island of six Miles in Compass. From thence they could discern the Continent and very high Mountains; and coasting among the Islands, adjoining to the Main, they found an excellent Harbour. They dug a Garden the twenty second of *May*; and among their Seeds, they sowed Barley and Pease, which grew up eight Inches in sixteen Days; altho' they judged the Mould much inferior to what they found afterwards on the Main. On the 30th of *May*, the Captain with thirteen more, went to view and discover the Continent; and having found a fair River, running up into the Country, they returned back to bring in the Ship. What River this was, and what Part of the *American* Coast they fell upon, is difficult to determine exactly. For their neglecting to tell us what Course they steered, after they were disengaged from the Shoals, renders it doubtful, whether they fell in with some Part of the *Massachusset*'s Bay; or rather farther *Southward*, on the Coast of *Rhode-Island*, *Naraganset*, or *Connecticut*; altho' I am most inclined to believe, this River was either that of *Naraganset* or *Connecticut*; and the Island, what is now called *Block-Island*. However it is certain, that *Oldmixon*, (the Author of the Book, entitled, *The British Empire in America*) according to his usual Custom, is here 1605.

1605. moſt egregiouſly bewildered and loſt. For after having, injudiciouſly enough, determined the ſmall Iſland they firſt made, of ſix Miles in Compaſs, to be *Long-Iſland*, on the Coaſt of *New-York*, he immediately after, with ſtill greater Abſurdity and Groſneſs, calls this the River of *Powhatan*, now *James* River, to the *Southward*, as he ſays, of the Bay of *Cheſapeake*.

WHEN Captain *Weymouth* returned aboard, he found, that the *Indians* had contracted an Acquaintance with his Crew; that they had had ſome ſmall Trade together; and that there was much outward Shew of Kindneſs and Civility between them. For as the *Engliſh* intended to inhabit their Country, and as it was the chief Deſign of the noble Adventurers, who had ſent them, to propagate Chriſtianity among thoſe barbarous People, they uſed them very kindly; and exchanging Hoſtages, would ſometimes lie aſhore with them, and they ſometimes aboard with the *Engliſh*. At laſt they were very preſſing with the Captain, to go to the Main, to trade with their Baſhabes, or chief Lord. He accordingly manned his Boat with fourteen Hands, and attended them. But having plainly diſcovered their Treachery, and that it was only a Stratagem to cut them off, he ſeiſed five, and ever afterwards treated them with great Civility, but never more truſted them.

HAVING ſpent ſome time in ſounding all the Iſles, Channels, and Inlets, and found four ſeveral Ways of bringing a Ship into the Bay, they at laſt ran theirs twenty ſix Miles up the River. They found, it flowed eighteen Feet, was a Mile wide forty Miles from the Mouth, had a bold Channel from ſix to ten Fathom deep, and every half Mile beautiful Coves and Harbours, ſome of them to contain an hundred Sail of Veſſels. The Land was very rich, trending all along in an equal Plain, neither mountainous nor rocky, but verged with a green Border of Graſs; and the Woods were large and tall, and delightfully watered with many freſh Springs and Rivulets. Leaving their Ship, they went ſeven Miles higher than the ſalt Water flowed, and then marched towards the Mountains. But the Weather was ſo hot, and the Fatigue ſo great, that having erected a Croſs, they willingly returned to their Ship. Soon after, they ſailed for *England*, and arrived at *Dartmouth* the 18th of *July*; carrying with them the five *Indians*, taken by the Captain, whereof one was a Sagamo, or Commander, and three others, Perſons of Figure and Diſtinction in their own Country.

THE

THE HISTORY OF *VIRGINIA.*

BOOK II.

CAPTAIN *Bartholomew Gosnold* had made a Voyage to the *Northern* Parts of *Virginia*, in the Year 1602, as hath been before related. He was so wonderfully pleased with the Pleasantness and Fertility of the Places he saw, that, after his Return to *England*, he made it his Business to sollicit all his Friends and Acquaintance, to join with him in an Attempt to settle so delightful a Country. After some Years spent in vain, he at last prevailed with Captain *John Smith*, Mr. *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, the Rev. Mr. *Robert Hunt*, and divers others, to join in the Undertaking. But settling Colonies is an Enterprise of too great Burthen and Expence for a few private Persons; and therefore, after many vain Projects, they applied themselves to several of the Nobility, Gentry, and Merchants, and by their great Charge and Industry, recommended their Scheme so effectually to them, that they came into it very heartily.

AND first, Letters patent were obtained from King *James* I. bearing Date the 10th of *April*, 1606, to Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Somers*, Knights, *Richard Hacklayt*, Clerk, Prebendary of *Westminster*, *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, with others unnamed, for the *Southern* Colony; and to *Thomas Hanham*, and *Raleigh Gilbert*, Esqrs, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, Gentlemen, and others 1606.

1606. unnamed, for the *Northern* Colony. By this Charter, all that Tract of Country, from 34 to 45 Degrees of *North* Latitude, which then went under the common Name of *Virginia*, was divided into two Parts; called the First Colony and the Second. The First or *Southern* Colony was designed for the City of *London*, and such as would adventure with them, to discover and chuse a Place of Settlement, any where between the Degrees of 34 and 41. The Second or *Northern* Part, was appropriated to the Cities of *Bristol*, *Exeter*, *Plimouth*, and the *Western* Parts of *England*, and all those, that would adventure and join with them, to make their Choice, any where between the Degrees of 38 and 45; provided, there should be at least an hundred Miles Distance between the two Colonies. For each of them was to extend fifty Miles from the Place of their first Habitation, each way along the Coast. But I shall make no Abstract of this Charter, having caused it to be printed at large in the Appendix, to which I refer the Reader.

BUT besides this Charter, the King gave divers Articles, Instructions, and Orders, under his Sign Manual, and the Privy Seal of *England*, dated the 20th of *November*, 1606; wherein he establishes and ordains a Council, under the Name of the King's Council for *Virginia*. This consisted of the following Persons; Sir *William Wade*, Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Walter Cope*, Sir *George More*, Sir *Francis Popham*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Sir *John Trevor*, Sir *Henry Montagu*, Recorder of the City of *London*, and Sir *William Romney*, Knights; *John Dodderidge*, Sollicitor General, and *Thomas Warr*, Esqrs; *John Eldred*, of the City of *London*, *Thomas James*, of *Bristol*, and *James Bagg*, of *Plimouth*, in the County of *Devon*, Merchants. But these being soon found too few, and by Reason of the Distance of their Habitations from each other, difficult to be got together in any competent Number, his Majesty, by an Ordinance dated the 9th of *March* following, augmented this Council with Sir *Thomas Challenor*, Sir *Henry Nevil*, Sir *Fulke Grevil*, Sir *John Scot*, Sir *Robert Mansel*, Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, Sir *Morris Berkeley*, Sir *Edward Michelborne*, Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Clerk of the Privy Council, Sir *Robert Killigrew*, Sir *Herbert Croft*, Sir *George Copping*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Sir *Thomas Roe*, and Sir *Anthony Palmer*, Knights, nominated to him by and on the Behalf of the first Colony; and with Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *John Mallet*, Sir *John Gilbert*, Sir *Thomas Freake*, Sir *Richard Hawkins*, and Sir *Bartholomew Mitchel*, Knights; *Thomas Seamer*, *Bernard Greenvil*,

Greenvil, and *Edward Rogers*, Eſqrs; and *Matthew Sutcliffe*, Doctor of Divinity, and afterwards Dean of *Exeter*, nominated to him by and on the Behalf of the ſecond Colony. 1606.

IN this laſt Inſtrument, there was a Diſtinction and Seperation made of the two Councils; but in the former of the 20th of *November*, Sir *William Wade*, and the reſt, were conſtituted his Majeſty's Council for both Colonies, "for all Matters that ſhould happen in *Virginia*, or any the "Territories of *America*, between 34 and 45 Degrees of "*North* Latitude, according to the Purport and Tenor of "the Letters patent: That they ſhould have full Power "and Authority, at the Pleaſure, and in the Name of his "Majeſty, his Heirs, or Succeſſors, to give Directions to "the Councils, reſident in *America*, for the good Govern-"ment of the People there, and for the proper ordering "and diſpoſing all Cauſes within the ſame, in Subſtance "as near to the Common Law of *England*, and the Equity "thereof, as might be; reſerving to his Majeſty, his Heirs "and Succeſſors, a Power to increaſe, alter, or change "the ſaid Council, at their Will and Pleaſure: And that "this his Majeſty's Council in *England*, ſhould nominate "and appoint the firſt Members of the ſeveral Councils, "to be reſident in the Colonies.

"That the ſaid Councils, reſident in the Colonies, or "the major Part of them, ſhould chuſe one of their own "Body, not being a Miniſter of God's Word, to be Preſi-"dent of the ſame, and to continue in that Office by the "Space of one whole Year, and no longer: And that it "ſhould be lawful for the major Part of the ſaid Councils, "upon any juſt Cauſe, either of Abſence or otherwiſe, to "remove the Preſident, or any other of the Council; and "in Caſe of Death or ſuch Removal, to elect another into "the vacant Place: Provided always, that the Number of "each of the ſaid Councils ſhould not exceed thirteen.

"That the ſaid Preſidents, Councils, and the Miniſters, "ſhould provide, that the true Word and Service of God "be preached, planted, and uſed, not only in the ſaid Co-"lonies, but alſo, as much as might be, among the Sava-"ges bordering upon them, according to the Rites and "Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

"THAT they ſhould not ſuffer any to withdraw the "People of the ſaid Colonies from the Allegiance of the "King, his Heirs, or Succeſſors; but ſhould cauſe all "Perſons ſo offending, to be apprehended and impriſoned, "till full and due Reformation, or if the Cauſe ſo required, "ſhould ſend them to *England*, with all convenient Speed, "there to receive condign Puniſhment.

1626. "THAT all Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, "ſhould be had, inhabited, and enjoyed, within the ſaid "Colonies, as the like Eſtates are held and enjoyed, by "the Laws in *England*.

"THAT Tumults, Rebellion, Conſpiracy, Mutiny, "and Sedition, together with Murder, Manſlaughter, In-"ceſt, Rapes, and Adultery, committed within any of the "Degrees aforeſaid, (and no other Offences) ſhould be "puniſhed by Death without Benefit of Clergy, except in "Caſe of Manſlaughter, to which Clergy ſhould be allow-"ed: And that the ſaid Preſidents and Councils, within "their ſeveral Limits and Precincts, ſhould have full Power "and Authority, to hear and determine concerning the "ſaid Offences, in Manner and Form following; *viz.* by "a Jury of twelve honeſt and indifferent Perſons, returned "by proper Officers, and ſworn upon the Evangeliſts, "who ſhould, according to the Evidence given, upon their "Oath, and according to the Truth in their Conſciences, "convict or acquit the ſeveral Perſons ſo accuſed, and "tried by them: That every Perſon who ſhould voluntā-"rily confeſs the ſaid Offences, or ſhould ſtand mute, and "refuſe to plead, or make direct Anſwer, ſhould be, and "be held as fully convicted of the ſame, as if he had been "found guilty by the Verdict of the twelve Jurors afore-"ſaid: That the ſaid Preſidents and Councils, or the ma-"jor Part of them, within their ſeveral Precincts and Li-"mits, ſhould have full Power and Authority, to give "Judgment of Death upon every ſuch Offender, without "Benefit of Clergy, except in Caſe of Manſlaughter only: "And that no Perſon, ſo adjudged or condemned, ſhould "be reprieved, but by the Conſent of the ſaid Preſident "and Council, or the major Part of them; nor ſhould "receive full Pardon, or be abſolutely diſcharged from the "ſaid Offences, but by the Pardon of the King, his Heirs, "or Succeſſors, under the Great Seal of *England*: And fi-"nally, that all Perſons, offending as aforeſaid, within "the Degrees abovementioned, but out of the Precincts "of their own Colony, ſhould be tried and puniſhed in "their proper and reſpective Colony.

"THAT the ſaid Preſidents and Councils, within their "ſeveral Precincts and Limits, ſhould have Power and Au-"thority, to hear and determine all other Wrongs, Treſ-"paſſes, and Miſdemeanors whatſoever; and on ſufficient "Proof upon Oath, ſhould reſpectively puniſh the Offen-"ders, either by reaſonable corporal Puniſhment and Im-"priſonment, or elſe by awarding ſuch Damages, or other "Satisfaction, to the Parties aggrieved, as to them, or the

"more

" more Part of them, ſhould ſeem fit and convenient: And 1606.
" that the ſaid Preſidents and Councils ſhould have Power
" to puniſh all Manner of Exceſs, through Drunkenneſs
" or otherwiſe, and all loitering, idle, and vagrant Per-
" ſons, within their reſpective Precincts, according to their
" beſt Diſcretions, and with ſuch convenient Puniſhment,
" as they, or the moſt Part of them, ſhould think fit:
" That theſe judicial Proceedings ſhould be made ſumma-
" rily and verbally, without Writing, till they came to the
" Judgment or Sentence, which ſhould be briefly regiſtred
" into a Book, kept for that Purpoſe, together with the
" Cauſe, for which the ſaid Judgment or Sentence was
" given, ſubſcribed by the ſaid Preſident and Council, or
" by ſuch of them as gave the Judgment.

" THAT for five Years, next after their landing on the
" Coaſt of *Virginia*, the ſaid ſeveral Colonies, and every
" Perſon thereof, ſhould trade altogether in one Stock, or in
" two or three Stocks at moſt, and ſhould bring all the Fruits
" of their Labours there, with all their Goods and Com-
" modities from *England* or elſewhere, into ſeveral Maga-
" zines or Storehouſes, for that Purpoſe to be erected, in
" ſuch Order, Manner, and Form, as the Councils of the
" reſpective Colonies, or the more Part of them, ſhould
" preſcribe and direct: That there ſhould be annually cho-
" ſen by the Preſident and Council of each Colony, or the
" major Part of them, one Perſon of their Colony, to be
" Treaſurer or Cape-Merchant of the ſame, to take Charge
" of, and to manage, all Goods and Wares, brought into,
" or delivered out of, the ſaid Magazines; upon whoſe
" Death, voluntary Reſignation, or Removal for any juſt
" and reaſonable Cauſe, it ſhould be lawful for the ſaid
" Preſident and Council, to elect any other, or others, in
" his Room: That there ſhould alſo be elected, by the
" ſaid Preſident and Council, two others (or more, if need
" be) Perſons of Diſcretion; the one to enter into a Book,
" kept for that Purpoſe, all Goods, Wares, and Merchan-
" diſes, brought into; and the other, to charge, in a like
" Book, all taken out of the ſaid Magazines or Storehouſes;
" which Clerks ſhould continue in their Places, only at the
" Will of the Preſident and Council of their reſpective Co-
" lony: And laſtly, that every Perſon of each of the ſaid
" Colonies, ſhould be furniſhed with Neceſſaries out of the
" ſaid Magazines, for the Space of five Years, by the Ap-
" pointment, Direction, and Order, of the Preſident and
" Council of their reſpective Colonies, or of the Cape-
" Merchant and two Clerks, or the major Part of them.

1606. "THAT the Adventurers of the First Colony should "chuse, out of themselves, one or more Companies, each "consisting of three Persons at the least, to reside in or "near *London*, or at such other Place or Places, as the "Council for that Colony, for the time being, or the most "Part of them, during the said five Years, should think "fit: In the same Manner, that the Adventurers of the "Second Colony should chuse the like Companies, to be "resident at or near *Plimouth*, or at such one, two, or "three other Places or Ports, as the Council for that Co-"lony should think fit: And that these minor Companies "should, from time to time, take Care and Charge of "the Trade, and an Account of all the Goods, Wares, "and Merchandises, that should be sent from *England* to "their respective Colonies, and brought from the Colonies "into *England*, and of all other Things, relating to the "Affairs and Profits of their several Companies.

"THAT no Person should be admitted to abide or re-"main in the said Colonies, but such as should take, not "only the usual Oath of Obedience, but also the Oath, "prescribed in the last Session of Parliament, holden at "*Westminster* in the fourth Year of his Majesty's Reign, "for due Obedience to the King, his Heirs, and Succes-"sors.

"THAT the Presidents and Councils of the said Colo-"nies, or the major Part of them, should have Power to "constitute, make, and ordain, from time to time, Laws, "Ordinances, and Officers, for the better Order, Go-"vernment, and Peace of their respective Colonies; pro-"vided nevertheless, that those Ordinances and Constitu-"tions did not touch any Party in Life or Member: And "that the said Laws and Ordinances should stand and con-"tinue in full Force, till the same should be otherwise "altered or made void by the King, his Heirs, or Suc-"cessors, or by his Majesty's Council in *England* for *Vir-"ginia*, or by their own Council, there resident: Provided "always, that the said Alterations should stand with, and "be in Substance consonant to, the Laws of *England*, or "the Equity thereof.

"THAT all Persons should kindly treat the savage and "heathen People in those Parts, and use all proper Means "to draw them to the true Service and Knowledge of "God, and that all just and charitable Courses should be "taken with such of them, as would conform themselves "to any good and sociable Traffick, thereby the sooner to "bring them to the Knowledge of God, and the Obe-"dience of the King, his Heirs, and Successors, under such

"severe

" ſevere Pains and Puniſhments, as ſhould be inflicted by " the reſpective Preſidents and Councils of the ſeveral Co- " lonies. 1606.

" THAT as the ſaid Colonies ſhould, from time to " time, encreaſe in Plantation, the King, his Heirs, and " Succeſſors, ſhould ordain and give ſuch Order, and fur- " ther Inſtructions, Laws, Conſtitutions, and Ordinances, " as by them ſhould be thought fit and convenient: Pro- " vided always, that they be ſuch as might ſtand with, and " be conſonant to the Laws of *England*, or the Equity " thereof.

" AND laſtly, that his Majeſty's Council in *England* " for *Virginia*, ſhould take ſuch Oath, as ſhould be limit- " ed and appointed by the Privy Council; and each Coun- " ſellor, reſident in the Colonies, ſhould take ſuch Oath, " as ſhould be preſcribed by the King's Council in *England* " for *Virginia*: And that theſe, as well as all future Or- " ders and Inſtructions of the King, his Heirs, or Succeſ- " ſors, ſhould be tranſmitted over to the ſeveral Councils, " reſident in the ſaid Colonies, under the legal Seal of the " King's Council in *England* for *Virginia*."

THESE Articles contain ſeveral Things of an extraordinary Nature; which Sir *John Randolph*, in the Sketch, he has left of the Beginning of his Hiſtory of *Virginia*, promiſed afterwards to animadvert upon. I am no Lawyer, and therefore ſhall not preſume to enter deeply into the Matter. I ſhall only tranſiently remark, that, notwithſtanding the frequent Repetition of the Laws of *England*, and the Equity thereof, his Majeſty ſeems, in ſome things, to have deviated groſly from them. He has certainly made ſufficient Proviſion for his own deſpotic Authority; and has attributed an extravagant and illegal Power to the Preſidents and Councils. For he has placed the whole Legiſlative Power ſolely in them, without any Repreſentative of the People, contrary to a noted Maxim of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution; That all Freemen are to be governed by Laws, made with their own Conſent, either in Perſon, or by their Repreſentatives. He has alſo appointed Juries only in Caſes of Life and Death; and has left all other Points, relating to the Liberty and private Property of the Subject, wholly to the Pleaſure and Determination of the Preſidents and Councils. He has indeed, agreeably to the Dictates of his own Nature, been expreſs enough with Reſpect to Rebellion, Conſpiracy, and other Offences immediately againſt the Magiſtrate; but then he has been very ſparing in all other criminal Matters. For altho' he has made Adultery puniſhable with Death, contrary to the Laws of *England*,

and

1606. and contrary to a greater, the Law of the Goſpel, in the noted Determination of our B. Saviour, concerning the Woman taken in Adultery; yet he has paſſed over all the ſeveral Species of Robbery, Burglary, and Felony, with other Crimes, capital by the Laws of *England*, and declared, that none, but thoſe there ſpecified, ſhould be ſubject to the Puniſhment of Death.

HOWEVER, furniſhed with theſe Powers and Authorities, the Firſt or *Southern* Colony, which ſtill retains the Name of *Virginia*, was undertaken and begun by ſeveral Nobleman, Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants and Citizens, in and about *London*; and they choſe Sir *Thomas Smith*, a very eminent and wealthy Merchant of *London*, their Treaſurer, to have the chief Management of their Affairs, and to ſummon and preſide in all Meetings of the Council and Company in *England*. He had been the chief of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Aſſignees, and was either now, or ſoon after, Governor of the *Eaſt-India* Company; and had alſo been ſent, two Years before, his Majeſty's Embaſſador to the Emperor of *Ruſſia*. And next, having provided two Ships and a ſmall Bark, they committed the Tranſportation of the Colony to Captain *Chriſtopher Newport*, who was eſteemed a Mariner of Ability and Experience on the *American* Coaſts. For he had fourteen Years before, *Anno* 1592, with much Reputation and Honour, conducted an Expedition againſt the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*; where, with three Ships and a ſmall Bark, he took ſeveral Prizes, plundered and burnt ſome Towns, and got a conſiderable Booty.

TO him therefore, by an Inſtrument, bearing Date the 10th of *December* 1606, under the legal Seal of the Council, they gave Power to appoint all Captains, Soldiers, and Mariners, and to have the ſole Charge and Command of the ſame, and of the whole Voyage, from the Date thereof, till they ſhould land on the Coaſt of *Virginia*; and in Caſe of his Death, the ſeveral Captains of the Ships and Bark were ordered and impowered, to proceed and carry them to the Coaſt of *Virginia* aforeſaid. To Captain *Newport*, Capt. *Bartholomew Goſnold*, and Captain *John Ratcliffe*, they alſo delivered ſeveral Inſtruments, cloſe ſealed with the Councils Seal, which they, the Survivors, or Survivor of them, ſhould, within twenty four Hours after their Arrival on the Coaſt of *Virginia*, and not before, open and unſeal, and publiſh the Names of the Perſons, therein ſet down, who ſhould be declared and taken to be his Majeſty's Council for that Colony: That the ſaid Council ſhould immediately proceed to the Choice and Nomination

of

of a Preſident, who ſhould have two Votes in all Matters of Controverſy and Queſtion, where the Voices happened to be equal; and ſhould have full Power and Authority, with the Advice of the reſt of the Council, or the greater Part of them, to govern, rule, and command, all the Captains and Soldiers, with all other Perſons whatſoever of the ſaid Colony: And that the Preſident, immediately upon his Election, ſhould, in the Preſence of the Council, and of twenty others of the principal Adventurers in the Voyage, to be by the Preſident and Council called thereto, take his Oath, according to a Form preſcribed, to bear true Allegiance to the King, and for the Performance of his Duty in the Place and Office of Preſident; after which he ſhould adminiſter the like Oath to each of the Council particularly. And finally, Captain *Newport* was commanded, with ſuch a Number of Men, as ſhould be aſſigned him by the Preſident and Council, to beſtow two Months in the Search and Diſcovery of the Rivers and Ports of the Country, and to give preſent Order for the lading the two Ships (the Bark being deſigned to remain in the Country) with ſuch principal Commodities and Merchandiſe, as could there be had and found, and to return with the ſaid Ships, full laden, bringing a particular Account of every thing, by the laſt of *May* following, if God permit. 1606.

To theſe Orders the Council added other Inſtructions, by way of Advice, concerning their ſtrict Obſervation of the above-mentioned Ordinances by the King's Majeſty, delivered to them under the Privy Seal; concerning the Choice of a Place, and the Manner of ſeating themſelves; the neceſſary Orders and Methods of Diſcovery; their Caution before, and Behaviour towards, the Natives; with various other Counſels and Directions for the better conducting themſelves and the Enterpriſe. And as the Council in *England* were ever ſollicitous and intent on the Diſcovery of the *South-Sea*, as the certain and infallible Way to immenſe Riches, they were commanded, if they happened to diſcover divers navigable Rivers, and among them any, that had two main Branches, if the Difference was not great, to make Choice of that, which tended moſt towards the *North-Weſt*; ſince the other Sea, as they judged, would be ſooneſt found that Way. And they were to diſcover, if they could, whether the River, on which they ſeated, ſprung out of the Mountains or out of Lakes. For if it roſe from any Lake, it was likely, that the Paſſage to the other Sea would be the more eaſy, and that out of the ſame Lake they might find ſome other Stream, running the contrary Way, towards the *Eaſt-India*, or *South-Sea*. And they con-

1606. concluded laſtly and chiefly, that the Way to proſper and obtain Succeſs was to make themſelves all of one Mind, for their own and their Country's Good, and to ſerve and fear God, the Giver of all Goodneſs, ſince every Plantation, which he did not plant, would certainly be rooted out.

ALL theſe Orders and Inſtructions being put into a Box, they ſet Sail from *Blackwall* the 19th of *December* 1606; but were kept ſix Weeks on the Coaſt of *England* by contrary Winds. Even then they neglected the Council's laſt ſalutary Advice, concerning Unity and Concord among themſelves. For they began to fall into ſuch Factions and Diſcords, as would have ruined the whole Voyage, had not Mr. *Hunt*, their Preacher, by his prudent Conduct and pious Exhortations, allayed their Fury and Diſſenſion. That good Man, altho' he was ſo ſick and weak the whole Time, that few expected his Recovery, and had the additional Aggravation of being the principal Object of their Malice and Reproach, yet bore all with the utmoſt Meekneſs and Patience. And he never betrayed the leaſt ſeeming Deſire to leave the Buſineſs, altho' his Habitation was but twenty Miles from the *Downs*, but preferred the Service of God and his Country, in ſo good a Voyage, before all other private Reſpects or Conſiderations whatſoever.

1607. As ſoon as they got clear of the Coaſt of *England*, they took the old Rout by the *Canaries*, where they watered. Here their Quarrels and Diſſenſions grew ſo high, that Captain *Smith* was ſeized and committed cloſe Priſoner. It was ſuggeſted by Mr. *Wingfield* and ſome others of the chief among them, who envied his Repute and Intereſt with the Company, that he intended to murder the Council, uſurp the Government, and make himſelf King of *Virginia*; and this, they pretended, would be atteſted and proved againſt him by ſeveral of his Confederates, who were diſperſed in all the three Ships. Upon theſe ſcandalous Suggeſtions, he was ſuſpected, and kept in cloſe Confinement thirteen Weeks. From the *Canaries* they went to the *Weſt-Indies*; where having traded with the Natives, and ſtaid three Weeks to refreſh themſelves, they ſteered away *Northward*, in Search of *Virginia*. The Mariners had paſſed their Reckoning three Days, and yet found no Land; which ſo diſheartened the Company, that Captain *Ratcliffe*, Commander of the Bark, was urgent to bare up the Helm, and return for *England*. But a violent Storm, obliging them to hull it all Night under their bare Poles, drove them providentially, beyond all their Expectations, to their deſired Port. For the next Day, being the 26th of *April* 1607, they

they made a Coaſt, which none of them had ever ſeen. 1607.
The firſt Land, they deſcried, they called *Cape-Henry*, in Honour to the Prince of *Wales*; as the Northern Cape was named *Cape-Charles*, after the Duke of *York*, King *James*'s ſecond Son at that time, and afterwards King *Charles* I. of *England*. Thirty Men went aſhore on *Cape-Henry*, to recreate and refreſh themſelves; but they were ſuddenly aſſaulted by five Savages, who wounded two of them very dangerouſly.

WITHIN theſe Capes they found a Country, which, according to their own Deſcription, might claim the Prerogative over the moſt pleaſant Places in the known World, for large and majeſtic navigable Rivers, for beautiful Mountains, Hills, Plains, Vallies, Rivulets, and Brooks, gurgling down, and running moſt pleaſantly into a fair Bay, encompaſſed on all Sides, except at the Mouth, with fruitful and delightſome Land. In the Bay and Rivers were many Iſlands, both great and ſmall, ſome woody, others plain, but moſt of them low and uninhabited. So that Heaven and Earth ſeemed never to have agreed better, to frame a Place for Man's commodious and delightful Habitation, were it fully cultivated and inhabited by induſtrious People.

THE Night of their Arrival, the Box was opened, and the Orders for Government read. In them *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, *Bartholomew Goſnold*, *John Smith*, *Chriſtopher Newport*, *John Ratcliffe*, *John Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were appointed of the Council. They were employed, till the 13th of *May*, in ſeeking a Place for their Settlement; and then they reſolved on a *Peninſula*, on the North Side of the River *Powhatan*, about forty Miles from the Mouth. After which, Mr. *Wingfield* was choſen Preſident, the Council ſworn, and an Oration made, why Captain *Smith* was not admitted of the Council, as the reſt. But beſides theſe Gentlemen and Mr. *Hunt*, their Chaplain, there came over another Perſon of very great Diſtinction and Quality. This was the Honourable Mr. *George Percy*, of the ancient Family of the *Percies*, ſo renowned in Story, and Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*. Neither did his Actions here diſgrace the Nobility of his Birth. For he juſtly obtained the Reputation of being a Gentleman of great Honour, Courage, and Induſtry. He ſeems to have come merely a Volunteer upon the Expedition, and bore no Poſt or Office of Government; which might perhaps have proceeded from the Cloud, under which his Brother, the Earl of *Northumberland*, then lay. For on ſome diſtant Surmiſes, and upon Account of

Edward-Maria Wingfield Preſident.

Mr.

1607. *Edward-Maria Wingfield* President.

Mr. *Percy*, his Kinſman, who was concerned in that Treaſon, the Earl was ſuſpected to have been privy to the Gun-powder Plot; and was therefore thrown into the Tower, where he lay above twelve Years, was fined thirty thouſand Pounds *Sterling* in the *Star-Chamber*, and underwent much hard Uſage. And beſides Mr. *Percy*, there were *Anthony Goſnold*, Captain *Gabriel Archer*, *Nathaniel Powel*, *Kellam Throgmorton*, *William Smithes*, *Richard Frith*, and divers others of Note in this firſt Plantation. And Mr. *Thomas Studley* was elected the firſt Cape-Merchant, or Treaſurer, of the Colony.

HAVING pitched upon a Place to ſettle, they called it *James-Town*, in Honour of his Majeſty then reigning, and every Man fell to work. The Council contrive the Fort; and of the reſt, ſome cut down and clear away the Trees, to make a Place to pitch their Tents; ſome get Clapboard, to relade the Ships; whilſt others were employed in making Gardens and Nets, and providing other Neceſſaries and Conveniences. The *Indians* often viſited them kindly, which was a great Satisfaction to them. For the Preſident's Jealouſy would admit of no Exerciſe at Arms, nor any other Fortification, but the Boughs of Trees caſt together in the Form of a half Moon, by the extraordinary Pains and Diligence of Captain *Kendall*. And ſoon after *Newport* and *Smith*, with twenty others, were ſent to diſcover the Head of the River *Powhatan*, which, from King *James*, was afterwards called *James* River. They paſſed by divers ſmall Habitations; and in ſix Days arrived at a Town, called *Powhatan*, conſiſting of about twelve Houſes, pleaſantly ſeated on a Hill, on the North Side of the River, with three fertile Iſles before it. This Place I judge to be either Mrs. *Mayo*'s, or elſe *Marring*'s Plantation; and it was the principal Seat, by Inheritance, of *Powhatan*, Emperor of the Country. To this Place they found the River navigable; but within a Mile higher, by reaſon of the Rocks and Iſles, there was no Paſſage for a ſmall Boat; and this they called the Falls. They were kindly treated by the People in all Parts; but being returned to *James-Town*, they found ſeventeen Men hurt, and a Boy ſlain, by the *Indians*; and had not a Croſs-bar Shot from the Ships happened to ſtrike a Bough from a Tree among them, which frighted, and made them retire, the *Engliſh* had been all cut off, being ſecurely at Work, and their Arms in dry Fats. After this the Preſident permitted the Fort to be paliſadoed, the Ordinance to be mounted, and the Men to be armed and exerciſed. For many and ſudden were the Aſſaults and Ambuſcades of the *Indians*; and the *Engliſh*,

by

by their disorderly straggling, were often hurt, whilst they, by the Nimbleness of their Heels, escaped. 1607.

ALTHO' Captain *Newport* was named of the Council, yet was he only hired for their Transportation, and was to return with the Ships. The time of his Departure approaching, Captain *Smith*'s Enemies pretended, out of Tenderness and Compassion to him, to refer him to the Council in *England*, to receive a Reprimand, rather than by pushing on their Accusation, to endanger his Life, or utterly destroy his Reputation. But he, being a Man of high Spirit, and conscious of his Innocency, scorned their Charity, and defied their Malice; and behaved himself in the whole Affair with such Clearness and Prudence, that all the Company perceived his Integrity, and their Envy and Injustice. Insisting therefore upon his Trial, the Persons, suborned to accuse him, accused their Suborners; and altho' many Falshoods were alledged against him, yet were they all so plainly disproved, that it raised a general Resentment in the Hearts of the Audience against such unjust Commanders, and the President was condemned to pay him two hundred Pounds, in Reparation of the Injury. In Consequence hereof, all the President's Effects were seized in Part of Satisfaction; but *Smith* generously presented them to the publick Store for the Use of the Colony. Soon after their Heats and Animosities were appeased by the good Doctrine and Exhortations of Mr. *Hunt*, who procured Captain *Smith* to be admitted of the Council; and the next Day, they all received the Communion, in Confirmation of their Peace and Concord. The Day after, being the 15th of *June*, the *Indians* voluntarily sued for Peace, and Captain *Newport* set Sail for *England*, leaving an hundred Persons behind him in *Virginia*. *Edward-Maria Wingfield* President.

THE Colony, being now left to their Fortunes, fell into such a violent Sickness, that within ten Days scarce ten among them could either go or stand. This was chiefly owing to the Difference of their Diet. For whilst the Ships staid, either by Way of Traffick, or for Money, or Love, they got a daily Proportion of Biscuit and other Provisions from the Sailers, who always abounded even to Luxury and Profusion. But now they were all reduced to the common Kettle; which contained the Allowance of half a Pint of Wheat, and as much Barley, boiled with Water, for a Man a Day. And this, having sunked for six and twenty Weeks in the Ship's Hold, contained nothing substantial, being only Bran, with as many Worms as Grains. The Council in *England*, but especially Sir *Thomas Smith*, their Treasurer, were justly charged with much

1607. much Cruelty and Inhumanity for these scanty and ill-conditioned Provisions; which Management however continued, more or less, the whole time of that Gentleman's Administration of the Affairs of the Company and Colony. This unwholesome Food, together with their continual Toil and Labour in the Extremity of the Heat, carried off fifty of the Company by *September*; in which Number was Captain *Gosnold*, the first Mover and Projector of the whole Business. The rest, that survived by the Care of Captain *Smith*, and the Skill and Diligence of Mr. *Thomas Wotton*, their Surgeon-General, subsisted on Crabs and Sturgeon, till *September*.

Edward-Maria Wingfield. President.

BUT the President, all this while, had felt neither Want nor Sickness. For he had embezzled the public Oatmeal, Sack, *Aqua-vitæ*, Beef, and Eggs, and had lived in great Plenty and Elegance. Soon after, having projected an Escape to *England* in the Bark, it raised such Indignation in the rest, that they deposed him, and elected Captain *John Ratcliffe* in his Room. *Kendall* was likewise at the same time disgraced, and removed from the Council, for being concerned in these male Practices of the President. And now, when all their Provisions were spent, the Sturgeon gone, and no Prospect of Relief from any Quarter left, God wrought so wonderful a Change in the Hearts of the *Indians*, that they brought such Plenty of their Fruits and Provisions, as no Man wanted.

John Ratcliffe President.

Newport was gone, *Gosnold* dead, and *Wingfield* and *Kendall* in Disgrace; neither were their Places supplied by the Election of any others, according to the Authority given. So that the whole Government and Power of the Council now rested in the new President, *Martin*, and *Smith*. But the President and *Martin*, being little esteemed or beloved, of weak Judgment in Dangers, and less Industry in Peace, at first very candidly and wisely permitted every thing to *Smith*'s Management, who was peculiarly fitted for conducting such an Enterprise, by a good Judgment, undaunted Courage, and an invincible Industry and Resolution. He immediately set about the building of *James-Town*; and by good Words, fair Promises, and his own Example (himself always bearing the greatest Share of the Labour and Fatigue) he pushed on the Work with such Vigor and Diligence, that he had, in a short time, provided most of them with Lodgings, neglecting any for himself. After which, finding the *Autumn* Superfluity of the Savages begin to decrease, he resolved to search the Country for Trade. The Want of the Language and a sufficient Power, with Cloathing for his Men and other

Ne-

Neceſſaries, were infinite Impediments to this Deſign, but no Diſcouragement to his bold and adventurous Spirit. For with five or ſix more, he went down the River, in a Shallop, to *Kicquſtan*; where at firſt they ſcorned them, as poor famiſhed Creatures, and would offer, in Deriſion, a Handful of Corn, or a Piece of Bread, for their Swords, Muſkets, or Cloaths. But *Smith*, finding, that nothing was to be had by Trade and Courteſy, ventured to exceed his Commiſſion, and entered upon ſuch Meaſures, as Neceſſity and the Exigency of his Caſe required. And therefore, having diſcharged his Muſkets among them, he ran his Boat aſhore; at which the *Indians* all fled into the Woods. Then marching up to their Houſes, they ſaw great Heaps of Corn. But *Smith* with much ado reſtrained his hungry Soldiers from immediately ſeizing it; expecting, the Savages would return to aſſault them, as it ſoon after happened. For ſixty or ſeventy of them, ſome painted black, ſome red, ſome white, and ſome party-coloured, iſſued out of the Woods, ſinging and dancing, and making a moſt hideous Noiſe, with their *Okée* borne before them. This was an Idol, made of Skins, ſtuffed with Moſs, and all painted and hung with Chains and Copper. For there was no Place in *Virginia* found ſo barbarous and void of Humanity, in which they had not a Religion, Deer, Bows, and Arrows. In this Savage Manner, being armed with Clubs, Targets, Bows, and Arrows, they charged the *Engliſh*, who received them ſo warmly with a ſecond Volley of Muſkets, loaded with Piſtol Shot, that down fell their God, and ſeveral of them lay ſprawling on the Ground. The reſt fled again into the Woods, and ſoon after ſent one of their Prieſts, to redeem their God and offer Peace. *Smith* told him, if only ſix would come unarmed, and load his Boat with Corn, he would not only reſtore their *Okée*, but would be their Friend, and give them Beads, Copper, and Hatchets beſides. Which was agreed to, and performed to the Satisfaction of both Parties. And then they brought him Veniſon, Turkies, Wildfowl, Bread, and whatever elſe they had, ſinging and dancing in Sign of Friendſhip, till he departed. And in his Return up the River, he diſcovered the Town and Country of *Warraſqueake*.

1607. Mr. Ratcliffe Preſident.

AFTER his Return to *James-Town*, he made ſeveral Journies by Land, and diſcovered the People of *Chickahominy*. In one of theſe, *Wingfield* and *Kendall*, ſeeing all things at random in *Smith*'s Abſence, and the Company's Scorn of the Preſident's Weakneſs and *Martin*'s never-mending Sickneſs, took Advantage of the Occaſion and combined with the Sailers and others, to regain their

1607. former Authority, or at leaſt to ſeize the Bark, which *Smith* had fitted for a trading Voyage, and in her to eſcape and go for *England*. But *Smith*, returning unexpectedly, with much Difficulty prevented their Deſign. For he was obliged to turn the Cannon of the Fort upon them, and ſo force them to ſtay or ſink in the River; which Action coſt the Life of Captain *Kendall*. And not long after, their new Preſident *Ratcliffe* and Captain *Gabriel Archer* intended to abandon the Country; but their Project was likewiſe reſtrained and ſuppreſſed by *Smith*. The *Spaniards* was never more greedy of Gold, than he was of Proviſions; neither did the reſt deſire more eagerly to abandon the Country, than he to keep it. And therefore, having found Plenty of Corn up the River *Chickahominy*, he went a trading Voyage thither, and was received by hundreds of *Indians*, who ſtood in divers Places with Baſkets, expecting his Coming. And now the Winter likewiſe coming on, the Rivers were ſo covered with Swans, Geeſe, and Ducks, that they daily feaſted with good Bread, *Virginia* Peaſe, Pumpions, and Paſſimmons, and with Fiſh, Fowl, and divers Sorts of wild Beaſts, as fat as they could well eat them. So that none of their humourſome and tuftaffety Sparks (as *Smith* calls them) were any longer diſcontented, or deſirous to go to *England*.

J. Ratcliffe Preſident.

But Captain *Smith*'s Activity and Induſtry, in diſcovering the Country, and providing for the Colony, could not ſcreen him from the vain Exceptions and Murmurs of many Idlers at *James-Town*. He was cenſured by ſome, and even taxed by the Council, of being too remiſs and negligent in diſcovering the Head of *Chickahominy* River. And therefore ſoon after, with much Labour in cutting away Trees and clearing a Paſſage, he went up as far, as his Barge could paſs. And then leaving her in a broad Bay, beyond the Reach of the *Indians* Shot, he himſelf, with two *Engliſh* more, and two *Indians*, proceeded higher up in a Canoe. When he left the Barge, he ordered, that none ſhould go aſhore, till his Return. But he was not long gone, before his diſorderly and ungovernable Crew diſobeyed this Command, and thereby gave the *Indians* an Opportunity of ſurpriſing one *George Caſſen*; and indeed narrowly eſcaped being all cut off to a Man. For *Opechancanough*, Brother to *Powhatan*, and King of *Pamunkey*, a ſubtle and ſavage Barbarian, was there with three hundred Bowmen. And after having extorted from *Caſſen*, which Way his Captain was gone, he put him to Death in a moſt cruel and barbarous Manner, and then went in Purſuit of *Smith*.

CAPTAIN

CAPTAIN *Smith* had got up twenty Miles higher, among the Swamps and Marſhes at the Head of the River; and leaving the Canoe to the Care of *Robinſon* and *Emry*, his two Men, he himſelf was gone to kill ſome Proviſions. *Opechancanough* firſt happened on the two Men, aſleep, as it was ſuppoſed, by the Fire; and ſhooting them full of Arrows, ſlew them. And then they traced the Captain; who, finding himſelf beſet, bound an *Indian*, whom he had for his Guide, to his Arm for a Buckler, and received their Attack ſo ſmartly with his Fire-Arms, that he ſoon laid three dead upon the Spot, and ſo wounded and galled divers others, that none of them cared to approach him. He himſelf received a ſlight Wound in the Thigh, and had many Arrows ſticking in his Cloaths, but without any great Hurt. Having the *Indians* thus at bay, he endeavoured to ſheer off to his Canoe; but regarding them, as he went, more than his Way, he ſuddenly ſlipped up to his Middle into an oozy Creek. Altho' he was thus hampered, yet none of them durſt come near him, till, being almoſt dead with Cold, he threw away his Arms and ſurrendered. Then drawing him out, they carried him to the Fire, where his Men were ſlain, and carefully chafed his benumbed Limbs. For this Winter, 1607, was extremely cold in *Virginia*, as it was likewiſe remarkable for an extraordinary Froſt in *Europe*. 1607. *J. Ratcliffe* Preſident.

WHEN *Smith* was a little recovered, he aſked for their Captain, and being ſhewed *Opechancanough*, he preſented him with a round Ivory double compaſs Dial. They wondered greatly at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could ſee ſo plainly, and yet not touch, becauſe of the Glaſs, that covered them. But when he explained by it the Roundneſs of the Earth, the Skies, the Sphere of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, with other ſurpriſing and unheard of Doctrines to them, they all ſtood amazed. Yet within an Hour after, they tied him to a Tree, and drew up in Order to ſhoot him. But the King holding up the Compaſs in his Hand, they all laid down their Arms at once. And then, with much Triumph, and in martial Order, they conducted him to *Orapakes*, which was a hunting Town and Seat, lying on the upper Part of *Chickahominy* Swamp, on the *North* Side, belonging to, and much frequented by *Powhatan* and the Imperial Family, on Account of the Abundance of Game, it afforded. In their March, they drew themſelves all up in File; and *Opechancanough*, being in the Midſt, had the *Engliſh* Swords and Muſkets carried before him. Captain *Smith* came next, led by three great Savages, holding him faſt by each Arm; and on either

1607. *J. Ratcliffe* President.

Side went fix in File, with their Arrows notched. When they arrived at the Town, the Women and Children ſtood ſtaring at a human Creature, ſo unlike whatever they had before ſeen; and the Soldiers, that had taken him, performed their military Exerciſe, throwing themſelves with great Dexterity into their War-Dance, with ſtrange Diſtortions and antic Poſtures, ſinging and yelling out frightful and inharmonious Notes and Screeches. But they treated *Smith* here very kindly, and feaſted him with that Formality and Abundance, that he ſuſpected, they intended to fatten and to eat him. In the midſt of theſe melancholy Thoughts and Surmiſes, one of them, in Return for ſome Beads and Toys, which *Smith* had given him at his firſt Arrival, brought him his Gown; which was of ſingular Service to him, and a very ſeaſonable Defence againſt the exceſſive Coldneſs of the Seaſon.

BUT whilſt his Mind was thus taken up with imaginary Deaths, he had like to have met a real one. For a Man came violently upon him, and would have ſlain him for the Death of his Son, had he not been prevented by his Guard. Whether this was one of thoſe, that were wounded, when *Smith* was taken Priſoner, or whether he was dying a natural Death, which they, through Ignorance and Superſtition, attributed to ſome Sorcery in *Smith*, is not eaſy to be determined. However, they carried him to recover the poor Man, breathing out his laſt. *Smith* told them, he had a Water at *James-Town*, that would do it, if they would let him fetch it. But they had more Senſe than to permit that, or to truſt him out of their Hands.

THEY were now making the greateſt Preparations they could, to aſſault *James-Town*. To this End they deſired *Smith*'s Advice and Aſſiſtance; and, as a Reward, promiſed him Life, Liberty, Land, and Women. But he repreſented to them the extreme Danger and Difficulty of the Attempt; and deſcribed the Springing of Mines, great Guns, and other warlike Engines, in ſuch a Manner, as exceedingly frighted and amazed them. And then he perſuaded ſome of them to go to *James-Town*, under Pretence of fetching ſome Toys; and in Part of a Table-Book, he informed them at the Fort, what was intended, and directed them, how to behave and affright the Meſſengers, and without fail, to ſend him ſuch Things, as he wrote for. Within three Days, the Meſſengers returned, through as bitter Weather as could be, for Froſt and Snow; and were greatly aſtoniſhed themſelves, as well as all that heard it, how *Smith* could divine, or the Paper ſpeak. For all things were delivered them, and had happened at *James-Town*, according as he foretold.

ALL Thoughts of an Attack upon *James-Town* being therefore laid aſide, they led *Smith* in Show and Triumph about the Country. And firſt they carried him to thoſe that dwelt on *Youghtanund*, or as it is now called, *Pamunkey* River. For the main River, which is ſince named *York* River, was then called *Pamunkey*; altho' the Country of *Pamunkey*, over which *Opechancanough* was King, lay in the Fork of the River, and his chief Seat was nearly, where the *Pamunkey* Town now is. From the *Youghtanunds* they led him to the *Mattaponies*, the *Piankatanks*, the *Nantaughtacunds*, on *Rappahanock*, and the *Nominies*, on *Patowmack* River. And having paſſed him over all thoſe Rivers, they brought him back, through ſeveral other Nations, to *Opechancanough*'s Habitation at *Pamunkey*; where, with frightful Howlings, and many ſtrange and helliſh Ceremonies, they conjured him three Days, to know, as they told him, whether he intended them well or ill. After this, they brought him a Bag of Gunpowder, which they judged to be a Grain, ſpringing out of the Earth, as other Grains did; and therefore they carefully preſerved it, intending to plant it the next Spring, as they did their Corn. And then he was invited, and feaſted, in a ſumptuous Manner, by *Opitchapan*, ſecond Brother to *Powhatan*, and next Heir to all his Dominions. But here, as in all other Places, none of them would touch a Morſel with him; altho' they would feaſt very merrily upon what he left. At laſt they conducted him to *Werowocomoco*, where *Powhatan*, the Emperor, was. *Werowocomoco* lay on the *North* Side of *York* River, in *Gloceſter* County, nearly oppoſite to the Mouth of *Queen*'s Creek, and about twenty five Miles below the Fork of the River. It was at that Time *Powhatan*'s principal Place of Reſidence; altho' afterwards, not admiring the near Neighbourhood of the *Engliſh*, he retired to *Orapakes*.

1607. *J. Ratcliffe* Preſident.

Powhatan himſelf was a tall, well-proportioned Man, of a ſour Aſpect, and of a very ſtrong and hardy Conſtitution of Body. His proper Name was *Wahunſonacock*; and he had that of *Powhatan*, from the Town ſo called, near the Falls of *James* River, which was the chief Seat and Metropolis of his hereditary Dominions; and he ſeems to have removed to *Werowocomoco* for Conveniency, after he had extended his Conqueſts far *North*. For his hereditary Countries were only *Powhatan*, *Arrohattock*, about twelve Miles lower down, which hath ſince been corrupted to *Haddihaddocks*, *Appamatock*, *Youghtanund*, *Pamunkey*, and *Mattapony*; to which may be added, *Werowocomoco*, and *Kiſkiack*, or as it hath ſince been called, *Cheeſecake*, be-

1607. *J. Ratcliffe* Preſident.

tween *Williamſburg* and *York*. All the reſt were his Conqueſts; and they were bounded on the *South* by *James* River, with all its Branches, from the Mouth to the Falls, and ſo acroſs the Country, nearly as high as the Falls of all the great Rivers, over *Patowmack* even to *Patuxen* in *Maryland*. And ſome Nations alſo on the *Eaſtern* Shore, owned Subjection to him. Theſe Dominions deſcended, not to his Sons or Children, but firſt to his Brothers, whereof he had three, *Opitchapan*, *Opechancanough*, and *Catataugh*; and then to his Siſters, according to their Seniority; and after them to the Heirs male or female of the eldeſt Siſter, and ſo of the reſt, but never to the Heirs of the Males.

HE lived in great barbaric State and Magnificence. He uſually had about his Perſon forty or fifty of the talleſt Men, his Country afforded; which Guard was, after this time, encreaſed to two hundred, on Account of the *Engliſh*. Every Night, upon the four Corners of his Houſe were placed four Sentinels, each a ſlight Shot from the other; and every half Hour, one from the main Guard hollowed, ſhaking his Finger between his Lips, and every Sentinel was obliged to anſwer from his Stand. If any failed, an Officer was immediately ſent, who beat him extremely. At all his ancient Inheritances, he had Houſes, ſome of them thirty or forty Yards long; and at every Houſe, Proviſion for his Entertainment, according to the Seaſon. He kept as many Women, as he pleaſed; and when he laid down, one ſat at his Head, and another at his Feet; but when he was up, one ſat on his right Hand, and another on his left. And as he was weary of them, he beſtowed them on ſuch of his Servants, as had moſt pleaſed him, or beſt deſerved them at his Hands.

ALTHO' both himſelf and People were very barbarous, and void of all Letters and Civility, yet was there ſuch a Government among them, that the Magiſtrates for good Command, and the People for due Subjection, excelled many Places, that would be counted very civil. He had under him above thirty inferior Kings or Werowances, who had Power of Life and Death, but were bound to govern according to the Cuſtoms of their Country. However, his Will was, in all Caſes, their ſupreme Law, and muſt be obeyed. They all knew their ſeveral Lands, Habitations, and Limits to fiſh, fowl, or hunt in. But they held all of their great Werowance, *Powhatan*; to whom they paid Tribute of Skins, Beads, Copper, Pearl, Deer, Turkies, wild Beaſts, and Corn. All his Subjects reverenced him, not only as a King, but as half a God; and it was curious

to

to behold, with what Fear and Adoration they obeyed him. For at his Feet they presented whatever he commanded; and a Frown of his Brow would make their greatest Spirits tremble. And indeed it was no Wonder; for he was very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such, as offended him, with Variety of Cruelty and the most exquisite Torture. 1607. *J. Ratcliffe* President.

WHEN *Smith* was presented to him, he was about sixty Years of Age, something hoary, and of a savage Majesty and Grandeur. He sat before a Fire, upon a wooden Throne, like a Bedstead, cloathed with a great Robe of Racoon Skins, and with a Coronet of Feathers about his Head. On either Hand, sat a young Wench, of about sixteen or eighteen Years of Age; and along each Side of the House, a Row of Men, and behind them, as many Women, painted and adorned in their best Manner. When *Smith* entered, all the People gave a Shout; and the Queen of *Appamatox* was appointed to bring him Water to wash his Hands, and another brought a Bunch of Feathers, instead of a Towel, to dry them. After that, having feasted him in their best Manner, a long Consultation was held; at the Conclusion of which, two great Stones were brought before *Powhatan*, and *Smith* was dragged to them, and his Head laid thereon, in order to have his Brains beat out with Clubs. But *Pocahontas*, the King's darling Daughter, when no Entreaty could prevail, got his Head into her Arms, and laid her own upon it, to save his Life. Whereupon *Powhatan* was persuaded to let him live, to make himself Hatchets, and her Bells, Beads, and Copper. For the King himself would make his own Robes, Shoes, Bows, Arrows, and Pots; and would hunt, plant, and do every thing else, like the rest; and therefore they thought him of all Occupations, as well as themselves. And besides this surprising Tenderness and Affection of *Pocahontas*, who was at that Time about twelve or thirteen Years of Age, Captain *Smith* received many Services from *Nantaquaus*, the Emperor's Son. He was a Youth of the comeliest and most manly Person, and of the highest Spirit and Courage, of any in the Court of *Powhatan*; and he embraced *Smith*'s Interest with much Warmth and Heartiness, and did him many Acts of Friendship and Kindness.

TWO Days after, *Powhatan*, having disguised himself in the most frightful Manner, he could, caused Captain *Smith* to be carried to a great House in the Woods, and there to be left alone on a Mat by the Fire. Not long after, from behind a Mat, which divided the House, was made the most doleful Noise, he had ever heard; and then *Powhatan*, with about two Hundred more, as frightful as himself,

1607. *J. Ratcliffe President.*

self, came to him, and told him, they were now Friends, and he should immediately go to *James-Town*, to send him two great Guns and a Grindstone; for which he would give him the Country of *Capahowsick*, and ever after esteem him, as his Son *Nantaquaus*. Captain *Smith* put little Confidence in his Words, and expected every Minute, even till he got to *James-Town*, to be put to one Kind of Death or other. But *Powhatan* sent him off immediately, with twelve Guides; and having lodged that Night in the Woods, he arrived the next Morning early at the Fort.

And thus Captain *Smith*, after seven Weeks Captivity, returned to *James-Town*, with the Advantage of being much improved in the Knowledge of the Country and their Language. He used his Guides with the utmost Kindness; and shewed *Rawhunt*, *Powhatan*'s trusty Servant, two Demi-Culverins and a Mill-stone, to carry to their Master. Their Weight was sufficient to deter them from the Attempt; but when they saw him discharge them, loaded with Stones, among the Boughs of a great Tree, hung with Icicles, the Terror of the Report, and the Ratling of the Boughs and Ice, so frighted the poor Savages, that they ran away, half dead with Fear. But having regained some Conference with them, he gave them such Toys for themselves, and sent *Powhatan*, his Women, and Children, such Presents, as gave a general Satisfaction.

At *James-Town* every thing was in Confusion, and the strongest were preparing once more to run away with the Bark. But *Smith*, with the Hazard of his Life, forced her the third time, to stay or sink in the River. And the next Day, several combined with the President, to put him to Death by the Levitical Law, for the Lives of *Robinson* and *Emry*, whom, they said, he had led to their End, and was consequently the Author of their Death. But he quickly took such Order with those Lawyers, that he laid them by the Heels, till he sent some of them Prisoners to *England*. And then, by his Relation of the Plenty, he had seen among the Natives, especially at *Werowocomoco*, and of the State and Bounty of *Powhatan*, till then unknown, he very much appeased their Fears, and revived their dead Spirits. And *Pocahontas*, with her Attendants, ever once in four or five Days, brought him so much Provision, as saved the Lives of many, who must otherwise have perished with Hunger. Several others also of the Natives repaired daily to the Fort, with such Provisions, as sufficiently served them from Hand to Mouth. Part they always brought *Smith*, as Presents from their Kings or *Pocahontas*; and he,

as

as their Market-Clerk, set the Price upon the rest. So much had he astonished and enchanted those poor Souls, whilst their Prisoner, that they esteemed him, as a Demi-God, and were ready, at his Beck, to do, whatever he commanded. And the God, who created all things, they knew, he adored as his God, and would, in their Discourse, call him the God of Captain *Smith*. 1607. *J. Ratcliff* President.

AND this their high Opinion was much increased by the Arrival of Captain *Newport*, whom *Smith*, among them, called his Father, nearly about the time, that he had foretold. For the Treasurer and Council in *England* sent two Ships, the latter End of this Year, with a Supply of Provisions, and an hundred and twenty Men. These came, well furnished with all things, that could be imagined necessary, as Captain *Smith* tells us. But however, we must always make some Allowance in his Account of these things. For he was a very great Friend to Sir *Thomas Smith*; and we shall see hereafter, from several authentic Papers, but especially from a Representation of our General Assembly, among the Records in the *Capitol*, that that Officer was most scandalously negligent, if not corrupt, particularly in this Matter of Supplies. One of these Ships was commanded by Captain *Newport*, the other by Captain *Francis Nelson*, an honest Man and expert Mariner. But such was the Lewardness of his Ship, that altho' he was within Sight of Cape *Henry*, yet by contrary Winds and stormy Weather, he was driven off the Coast, and forced to the *West-Indies*, to repair his Masts, and to get a Recruit of Wood and Water. But before this, the President and Council so much envied *Smith*'s Esteem among the Natives, altho' they all equally participated of the good Effects of it, that to raise their Credit and Authority above his, they would give them four times as much for their Commodities, as he had appointed. And now, out of Joy for the Arrival of this first Supply, and to gratify the Mariners, they gave them free Liberty to trade, as they pleased. So that in a short time, what was before bought for an Ounce of Copper, could not be had for a Pound. To which Captain *Newport*'s profuse Presents to *Powhatan* were added, and gave the finishing Blow to their Trade. They served indeed to entertain and keep up the high Idea of *Newport*'s Greatness, which *Smith* had raised in *Powhatan*, and made him very desirous to see him.

ACCORDINGLY the Bark was prepared, and a great Coil there was at *James-Town* to set him off. Captain *Smith* and Mr. *Matthew Scrivener*, a discreet and understanding Gentleman, newly arrived and admitted of the Council,

1607. *J. Ratcliffe* President.

Council, attended him with a Guard of thirty or forty choſen Men. When they came to *Werowocomoco*, *Newport* began to entertain many Fears and Suſpicions of Treachery. But *Smith*, with twenty Men, undertook to encounter the worſt, that could happen; and going aſhore, was kindly conducted by two or three hundred *Indians* to the Town. *Powhatan* ſtrained himſelf, upon this Occaſion, to the utmoſt of his Greatneſs to entertain them, with great Shouts of Joy, Orations, and Proteſtations, and with the moſt ſumptuous and plentiful Banquet, he could provide. He ſat on a Bed of Mats, with a Pillow of Leather embroidered with Pearl and white Beads; and was cloathed in a Robe of Skins, as large as an *Iriſh* Mantle. At his Head and Feet, ſat a handſome young Woman; and on each Side the Houſe, twenty of his Concubines, with their Heads and Shoulders painted red, and a great Chain of white Beads about each of their Necks. Before them, ſat his chief Men, in the like Order; and above forty Platters of fine Bread ſtood in two Files, on each Side of the Door. Four or five hundred People attended, as a Guard; and Proclamation was made, that none, upon Pain of Death, ſhould preſume to do the *Engliſh* any Wrong or Diſcourteſy. And thus did *Smith* and he ſpend the Day, in a kind Renewal of their former Acquaintance, and in feaſting, and ſeeing them dance and ſing, and play their other Feats of Humour and Activity. And that Night, the *Engliſh* were quartered and lodged by *Powhatan*.

THE next Morning, *Newport* came aſhore, and they ſpent three or four Days more in feaſting, and dancing, and trading. In all which time, *Powhatan* behaved himſelf with ſuch Loftineſs and State, and yet with ſo much Diſcretion, that they could not forbear admiring his natural Parts and Underſtanding. Scorning to trade, as his Subjects did, he told *Newport*, that he eſteemed him a great *Werowance*, as well as himſelf; that it was not agreeable to their Dignity to trade, in that pedling Manner, for Trifles; and that therefore, if he would lay down all his Commodities together, he would chuſe, what he liked, and give him their Value. *Smith*, who was their Interpreter, and knew *Powhatan*'s Diſpoſition, told the Company, his Intent was only to cheat them. But *Newport*, thinking to out-brave this ſtately Barbarian in Oſtentation and Greatneſs, and by his Bounty to obtain from him, whatever he pleaſed, accepted the Condition. And then *Powhatan*, having taken what he liked, valued his Corn at ſuch a Rate, that they had not four Buſhels, for what they expected twenty Hogſheads. This bred ſome Diſtaſte between the two *Engliſh* Captains;

Captains. But *Smith*, smothering his Dislike before the Savages, glanced several Trifles in the Eyes of *Powhatan*, who soon fixed his Fancy on some blue Beads. He was a long time importunate to have them; but *Smith* valued them so much the higher, and told him, they were composed of a rare Substance of the Colour of the Skies, and were not to be worn by any, but the greatest Kings in the World. This made him the more eager and mad for them; so that, for a Pound or two of blue Beads, he drew from him two or three hundred Bushels of Corn, and yet parted in good Friendship. Upon this Voyage *Newport* gave *Powhatan* a Boy, named *Thomas Savage*, whom he called his Son; and *Powhatan* gave him *Namontack*, a Servant of his, of a shrewd and subtle Capacity. 1607. *J. Ratcliffe* President.

FROM *Werowocomoco* they went to *Pamunkey*, where they were feasted in like Manner by *Opechancanough*. *Smith* fitted him also, at the same Rates, with blue Beads; which, by this Means, grew into such Estimation, that none durst wear them, but their great Kings, or their Wives and Children. At length weighing from thence, they returned to *James-Town*; where this new Supply of Corn being lodged with the rest, their Store-house was by some Accident fired, and so the Town, which, being thatched with Reeds, burnt with that Fierceness and Violence, as soon consumed their wooden Fortifications, with their Arms, Apparel, and Bedding, and much private Goods and Provision. The good Mr. *Hunt* lost all his Library, with every thing else, that he had, except the Cloaths on his Back; yet no one ever heard him murmur or repine at it.

NOTWITHSTANDING this unfortunate Accident, they had yet a tolerable Stock of Oatmeal, Meal, and Corn, had not the Ship loitered fourteen Weeks in the Country, when she might as well have been gone in fourteen Days. For they thereby helped to consume a great Part of the Colony's Store, and near all the Provisions, sent to be landed. When they departed, they left them, what little they thought proper to spare; which they were glad to receive, and make up an Account, highly commending their Care and Providence, lest they should discourage the Council at home from sending any more. Yet those Persons, who had either Money, spare Cloaths, Credit for Bills of Exchange, Gold Rings, Furs, or any such valuable Commodities, were always welcome to this floating Tavern. Such was their Necessity and Misfortune, to be under the Lash of those vile Commanders, and to buy their own Provisions at fifteen times the Value; suffering them to feast at their Charge, whilst themselves were obliged to fast, and yet 1608.

dare

1608. dare not repine, lest they should incur the Censure of being factious and seditious Persons. By these Means and Management, the Colony was rather burthened than relieved, by the vast Charge of this Ship; and being reduced to Meal and Water, and exposed, by the Loss of their Town, to the most bitter Cold and Frost, above half of them died. *Smith* indeed and *Scrivener* endeavoured to correct all Abuses, and to put things into a better Posture; but they could do nothing to Effect, being overpowered by the President and his Party, who had long before this laid aside their Deference to *Smith*'s Judgment and Management.

J. Ratcliff President.

About this time also, there sprung up a very troublesome Sect of Gold-finders, which was headed by Captain *Martin*, and warmly embraced by *Newport*. There was no Thought, no Discourse, no Hope, and no Work, but to dig Gold, wash Gold, refine Gold, and load Gold. And notwithstanding Captain *Smith*'s warm and judicious Representations, how absurd it was, to neglect other things of immediate Use and Necessity, to load such a drunken Ship with guilded Dust; yet was he over-ruled, and her Returns made in a Parcel of glittering Dirt, which is found in various Parts of the Country, and which they very sanguinely concluded to be Gold-Dust. And in her they sent home Mr. *Wingfield* and Captain *Archer*, to seek some better Place of Employment in *England*. For they had assumed many empty Titles of Offices here, as Admirals, Recorders, Chronologers, Justices of the Peace and of the Courts of Plea, with other such idle and insignificant Pretensions.

And now *Martin* and the President, carrying all things, as they pleased, by their Faction, lived in great Splendor by the Sale of the Store's Commodities, as if they had been their proper and hereditary Revenue. And the Spring approaching, Captain *Smith* and Mr. *Scrivener* prepared Fields for Corn, and applied themselves to rebuild *James-Town*, and repair the Church, Store-house, and Fortifications. But whilst they were all busily engaged at their several Labours, Captain *Nelson*, who had been driven off the Coast, as was before said, and as they all thought, lost, unexpectedly arrived, to their great Joy. He had been very careful and provident, and had fed his Company on what he got at the *West-India* Islands; so that the Provisions, he now landed, joined to their former Store, were sufficient to support them half a Year, according to their present Allowance. He himself also freely imparted, whatever he had; and by his fair and generous Behaviour, he got the Good-word and Love of the whole Colony. And the Pre-

sident,

fident, to ſend ſome good News by this Ship, ordered Captain *Smith*, with ſixty able Men, to diſcover the Country of the *Monacan*, or as they were afterwards called, the *Mannakin Indians*; a Nation above the Falls of *James*-River, not ſubject to *Powhatan*, but profeſt Enemies to him and his Dominions. For that ſtrange Blood-thirſtineſs, and, as it were, judicial Infatuation, of warring againſt and exterminating each other, which at preſent infeſts our *Indians*, and has been the Cauſe of the utter Extirpation of moſt of the Nations on this Continent, was even then rooted in their Nature, and may be obſerved in the oldeſt Accounts, that we have of them. However as it was the Time of planting Corn, and this Ship was to be diſpatched, Captain *Smith* thought thoſe and other things more urgent at that time, and therefore deferred the Diſcovery, till he could perform it with leſs Charge and more Leiſure. 1608. *J. Ratcliffe* Preſident.

WHEN *Newport* left the Country, *Powhatan* preſented him with twenty Turkies, and in return demanded twenty Swords, which were immediately ſent him. Afterwards he preſented Captain *Smith* with the like Number; but having no Swords in Return, he was highly offended, and ordered his People to take them by Stratagem or Force. So that they became inſufferably troubleſome and inſolent, would ſurpriſe the *Engliſh* at their Work, and ſeiſe their Swords at the very Ports of *James-Town*. The Preſident and *Martin*, who now bore the Sway, would keep their Houſes, or do any thing, rather than tranſgreſs a ſtrict Command from *England*, not to offend them. But at length they happened to meddle with Captain *Smith*, who gave them a rough Encounter, hunted them up and down the Iſland, and ſeiſed ſeven, whom he whipped and impriſoned. By this and other ſmart Proceedings, he brought them to Submiſſion; and they unanimouſly confeſſed, that they acted by *Powhatan*'s Direction, in order to get Swords from the *Engliſh*, to cut their own Throats; and they likewiſe diſcovered, how, where, and when, this Deſign was to be put in Execution; all which was confirmed by many concurrent Circumſtances. But *Powhatan*, finding, that things went not according to his Deſire and Intent, ſent *Pocahontas* with Preſents, to excuſe himſelf for the Injuries done by ſome of his ungovernable Captains; and he deſired their Liberty for this time, with Aſſurances of his Love and Friendſhip for ever. And *Smith* having given them a proper Correction, delivered them to *Pocahontas*; for whoſe Sake alone he pretended to ſave their Lives, and give them their Liberty. Thus, without the Death of one Man, he reſtrained their Inſolence, and brought them into ſuch perfect

1608. *J. Ratcliffe President.*

fect Fear and Obedience, that his very Name was ſufficient to fright them; whereas before they had ſometimes Peace and War twice in a Day, and ſeldom a Week paſſed without ſome Treachery or Ambuſcade. But the peaceable Council were highly offended at theſe Proceedings, and expoſtulated warmly with him for his Raſhneſs and Cruelty.

THERE had been a Diſpute between *Martin* and *Smith*, whether this Ship ſhould be laded with Cedar or Dirt. But her Freight being concluded to be Cedar, ſhe was, by the Diligence of her Captain and *Smith*, quickly diſpatched. In her Captain *Martin*, being always ſickly and unſerviceable, and having his Head full of the idle Whimſy of a Gold Mine, was moſt willingly admitted to return to *England*. In theſe two Ships, beſides Mr. *Scrivener*, came *Walter Ruſſel*, Doctor of Phyſick, *Richard Fetherſtone*, and ſome others of Note. And whilſt *Nelſon* and *Smith* were engaged in loading the Ship, Mr. *Scrivener* was neither idle nor ſlow in carrying on the Works of *James-Town*. But the Preſident's Prodigality and State went ſo deep, and was ſo ſenſibly felt in their ſmall Store, that he and *Smith* were obliged to bind him and his Paraſites to the Rules of Proportion.

ON the ſecond of *June* Captain *Nelſon* fell down the River, and was accompanied to the Capes by *Smith*, who, in an open Boat of about three Tons Burthen, together with Dr. *Ruſſel* and thirteen more, was going to diſcover *Cheſapeake* Bay. Parting with the Ship at *Cape Henry*, they ſtood over to thoſe Iſlands, which were then called, after him their firſt Diſcoverer, *Smith's Iſlands*. The firſt People, they ſaw, were two grim and ſtout *Indians* on *Cape Charles*, with long Poles, like Javelins, headed with Bone. They ſternly demanded, what they were, and what they wanted; but grew afterwards more kind, and directed them to *Accomack*, the Habitation of their *Werowance*. This King treated them very kindly, and was the comlieſt, moſt proper, and civil *Indian*, they had met with. They ſpoke the Language of *Powhatan*, and at that time lay under the Misfortune of a ſtrange Mortality, which they attributed to a Miracle. Paſſing on from thence, they coaſted it along, and ſearched every Inlet and Bay, that ſeemed proper for Harbours or Habitations; and many Harbours they found for ſmall Veſſels, but none fit to receive large Ships. Then ſpying many Iſlands out in the Bay, they bore up for them; but before they could reach them, there roſe ſuch a Guſt of Thunder, Lightning, Wind, and Rain, that with great Difficulty they eſcaped being foundered. Theſe Iſlands they named *Ruſſel's Iſlands*, after

after Dr. *Ruſſel*; and they are the ſame with thoſe, now called *Tanger Iſlands*. Being in Want of Water, and finding none in theſe Iſlands, they were obliged to follow the next Eaſtern Channel, which brought them into the River *Wighcocomoco*, which is the River now called *Pokomoke*. The Northern Point, at the Mouth, they called *Watkins's Point*, and a Hill, on the South of *Pokomoke* Bay, *Keel's Hill*, after two of the Company. Running up the River, the Natives at firſt threatened, with great Fury, to aſſault them; but at laſt became very tractable and kind. They dug in ſeveral Places, and ſearched their Habitations, yet could get but little Water, and that mere Puddle. Yet ſuch was their Diſtreſs two Days after, that they would have refuſed a Quart full of Gold for a Pint of that Puddle. 1608. *J. Ratcliffe* Preſident.

DEPARTING from thence, they found on a high Point of Land, which they called *Point Ployer*, a Pond of freſh Water, but ſo exceedingly hot, that they ſuppoſed it to be ſome Bath. Then ſtanding over to ſome other Iſlands, there aroſe ſuch another Thunder-Guſt, that their Maſt and Sail was blown overboard, and ſuch mighty Waves over-racked their Boat, that they could ſcarce, with much Labour in bailing out the Water, keep her from ſinking. Two Days they ſtaid among theſe Iſlands, and becauſe of the Guſts and Storms, that then happened, they called the Place *Limbo*; but they are the ſame, which have ſince been named *Wats's Iſlands*. Having repaired the Loſs of their Sail with their Shirts, they ſtood over again to the Eaſtern Shore, and fell in with a pretty convenient River, then called *Cuſcarawock*. This is, what is laid down in our preſent Charts by the Name of *Wighcocomoco*, by whatever Accident that Name hath ſhifted, in Proceſs of Time, from *Pokomoke* River to this. Here the Natives oppoſed them very furiouſly; but leaving ſome Toys in their Huts, they brought ſome of them over at laſt, to be very fond and obliging. On this River lived the Nations of *Sarapinagh*, *Nauſe*, *Arſeck*, and *Nantaquack*, who were the beſt Merchants, and greateſt Traders of all the *Indians* of this Country. They had the fineſt Furs, and made large Quantities of the beſt *Roanoke*; which was a Sort of white Bead, that occaſioned as much Diſſenſion among theſe *Barbarians*, as Gold and Silver among Chriſtians. They told the *Engliſh* of, and highly extolled, a great Nation, called the *Maſſawomecks*; in Search of whom they returned again, by *Limbo*, into the Bay. And finding the Coaſt of the Eaſtern Shore, nothing but ſhallow, broken Iſles, and for the moſt Part without freſh Water, they ſtood away

from

1608. *J. Ratcliffe* President.

from thence acroſs the Bay, bearing a little upwards, and fell in on the Weſtern Side, above the Mouth of *Patuxen* River, againſt ſome high Cliffs, which they called *Richard's Clifts*. From hence they ſailed thirty Leagues farther Northward, without finding any Inhabitants. The Coaſt was all along well watered, but very mountainous and barren, except the Vallies, which were rich and fertile, but extremely thick wooded, and therefore abounded in Wolves, Bears, Deer, and other wild Beaſts. They paſſed by many Coves and ſmall Streams. The firſt they found navigable for a Ship, they called *Bolus River*, becauſe the Clay, in many Places under the Clifts, grew up in red and white Knobs, like Gum out of Trees, and they concluded it to be *Bole Armeniac* and *Terra Sigillata*. This River, by it's Situation and Bearings, muſt be the ſame with *Patapſco* in *Maryland*.

And now Captain *Smith*'s Crew, who at firſt feared nothing ſo much as his too haſty Return, began to be very much foiled and fatigued. They had laid twelve or fourteen Days in that open Boat, were often tired at the Oars, and their Bread was ſpoiled and rotten with the Rain; ſo that they were very importunate with him to return. But he reminded them of the memorable Reſolution of Sir *Ralph Lane*'s Company, in the Diſcovery of the River *Moratuc*, who inſiſted on his going forward, as long as they had a Dog left, which, being boiled with Saſſafras Leaves, would afford them a rich Repaſt in their Return. And he told them, what a Shame it would be, to oblige him to return, with ſo much Proviſion, as they then had, when they could ſcarce ſay, where they had been, or give any Account of what they were ſent to diſcover: That they could not deny, but he had ſhared with them, in the worſt of what was paſt; and he was willing, to take to himſelf the worſt Part of what was to come: That it was not likely, any thing worſe ſhould befal them, than what had already happened; and that to return was as dangerous, as to proceed. He therefore adviſed them, to reſume their loſt Courage; for he was determined not to deſiſt, till he had ſeen the *Maſſawomecks*, found *Patowmack*, or traced the Head of the Bay. But after this, they were detained by the Wind and Weather three Days; which added ſuch a Diſcouragement, that three or four fell ſick, whoſe Diſſatisfaction and piteous Complaints at laſt prevailed with him to return.

On the 16th of *June*, they fell in with the Mouth of *Patowmack*. Their Fears being now gone, and Men recovered, they all agreed to take ſome Pains in the Diſcovery

of

of that seven-mile broad River. For altho' *Smith* had been carried over it in his Captivity, yet he knew it not again by the Mouth. For thirty Miles they found no Inhabitants; but afterwards were conducted, by two Savages, up a little bayed Creek, towards *Nominy*, where they discovered the Woods laid with Ambuscades, to the Number of three or four Thousand *Indians*, strangely grimmed and disguised, and making a horrible shouting and yelling. They made many Bravadoes, and *Smith* prepared, with as great seeming Willingness, to encounter them. But commanding some Muskets to be discharged on Purpose, the grazing of the Bullets on the Water, together with the Report and Eccho of the Woods, so frighted and amazed them, that they threw down their Arms, and became very kind and hearty Friends. They owned, they were commanded to betray that Party of *English*, by the Direction of *Powhatan*, who was desired so to do, by some discontented Persons at *James-Town*, because Captain *Smith* obliged them to stay in the Country against their Will. They afterwards went up the River, as high as they could with their Boat; and were received in some Places kindly, and in others in a hostile Manner. Up a small River, then called *Quiyough*, which I take to be *Patowmack* Creek, was a Mine like Antimony. In this the *Indians* dug, and washing away the Dross in a clear Brook, which ran by, they put up the Remainder in little Bags, and sold it all over the Country, to deck their Bodies, Faces, and Idols; which made them look like Blackamores, dusted over with Silver. *Newport* had carried some of these Bags home, and assured them, that they were found, upon Trial, to contain half Silver. Being therefore very eager after this Mine, they obtained Guides from *Japazaws*, King of *Patowmack*, who lived at the Mouth of that little River, and went up to it; but all, they got, proved of no Value. Towards the Falls of *Patowmack*, they met several Parties of *Indians* in Canoes, loaded with the Flesh of Bears, Deer, and other wild Beasts, which they generously imparted to them; and in divers Places, they saw that Abundance of Fish, lying with their Heads above Water, that their Barge driving among them, for Want of a Net, they attempted to catch them with a frying Pan. But they found that a bad Instrument to catch Fish.

1608. *J. Ratcliffe* President.

FROM *Patowmack* they set Sail for *Rappahanock*, or as it was by many called, *Toppahanock* River; where the Captain intended to visit his Captivity-Acquaintance. But their Boat, by Reason of the Lowness of the Tide, ran aground on some Shoals, at the Mouth of that River, where they

1608. *J. Ratcliffe* President.

spied many Fish, lurking in the Sedge. The Captain diverted himself by nailing them to the Ground with his Sword; and the rest betaking themselves to the same Sport, they took more Fish in an Hour, than they could eat in a Day. But Captain *Smith*, taking from his Sword a Fish, like a Thornback, with a long Tail, in the Midst of which was a poisoned Sting, of two or three Inches Length, bearded like a Saw on each Side, she struck her Sting into his Wrist an Inch and a half. No Blood or Wound was seen, but only a little blue Spot; yet such was the Extremity of Pain, and his Hand, Arm, and Shoulder, were so swoln in four Hours Time, that they all, with much Sorrow, expected his Death, and prepared his Grave in an Island by, as he himself directed. But it pleased God, by the Application of an Oil, which Dr. *Russel* had with him, his Torment was so eased and asswaged before Night, that to the great Joy of the Company, he eat of the Fish for his Supper. And in Memory of this Accident, they called the Isle *Stingray Island*, after the Name of the Fish.

THEIR Provisions being near spent, and being also deterred by this Misfortune, they set Sail immediately for *James-Town*; and passing by the Mouths of *Piankatank* and *Pamunkey* Rivers, they arrived the next Day at *Kicquotan*. From thence they proceeded up to *Warrasqueake*; where trimming their Barge with painted Streamers, and other such Devices, they were taken for a *Spanish* Frigot at *James-Town*, where they arrived the 21st of *July*. There they found the last Supply of Men all sick; and of the rest, some lame, some bruised, and all in a Tumult and Uproar against the unreasonable Pride and Cruelty of the President, whom they would as strangely have tormented with Revenge, had it not been for this seasonable Arrival of the Discovery Barge. He had riotously consumed the Store, and had greatly harrassed and fatigued the People, in building an unnecessary House of Pleasure for himself in the Woods. But their Fury was much appeased, by the good News of this Discovery, and by the Hopes, from some mistaken Interpretation of the Savage's Account, that our Bay reached to the *South-Sea*, or somewhere near it; but above all, by the deposing *Ratcliffe*, and Captain *Smith*'s taking the Government upon himself.

John Smith President. *Mat. Scrivener* Vice-President.

Smith substituted his good Friend Mr. *Scrivener*, who then lay exceeding ill of a Calenture, in the Presidency; and having settled all things to his own, and the People's Satisfaction, he staid but three Days at *James-Town*. For the 24th of *July*, he set forward, with twelve Men, to finish the Discovery of the Bay. They were detained two

or

1608.

Mat. Scrivener Vice-Preſident.

or three Days at *Kicquotan*, by contrary Winds, where they were kindly entertained and feaſted by the King, and in Diverſion fired ſeveral Rockets, which greatly terrified and aſtoniſhed the poor Savages. From thence they anchored, the firſt Night, at *Stingray* Iſland; and the next Day, croſſing the Mouth of *Patowmack*, they haſted to the River *Bolus*. A little beyond that, they found the Bay divided into four Streams, all which they ſearched, as far as they could ſail. Two of them they found inhabited, the Rivers *Suſqueſahanock*, and *Tockwogh*, ſince called *Saſſafras* River. In croſſing the Bay, they met ſeven or eight Canoes, full of *Maſſawomecks*, a great and powerful Nation of *Indians* inhabiting upon ſome of the Lakes of *Canada*, and the Original perhaps of thoſe, at preſent known by the Name of the *Senecas* or *Six Nations*. They were at that Time profeſt Enemies, and a great Terror, to the Nations dwelling on the upper Part of our Bay, and had then been at War with the *Tockwoghs*. After mutual Threats of Aſſault between them and the *Engliſh*, they were at laſt induced to go on board the Barge; and by interchangeable Preſents becoming good Friends, they departed without farther Intercourſe or Converſation.

THE next Day, entering the River *Tockwogh*, they were invironed with a Fleet of Canoes, full of armed Men. But coming to a Parley, and the *Tockwoghs* ſeeing the *Maſſawomeck* Arms, which they had preſented to the *Engliſh* the Day before, and which the *Engliſh* made them believe, they had taken in War, they were ſoon reconciled, and conducted them to their Town. It was palliſadoed round, mantled with the Barks of Trees, had Scaffolds, like Mounts, and was breaſted very formally. The Men, Women, and Children did their utmoſt to expreſs their Affection; and welcomed them with Songs, Dances, Fruits, and Furs, and with whatever elſe they had. Here they ſaw many Hatchets, Knives, and Pieces of Iron and Braſs, which, they told them, they had from the *Suſqueſahanocks*, a mighty Nation, dwelling on the chief of the four Branches at the Head of the Bay, two Days Journey above the Falls of that River. They prevailed with two *Tockwoghs* to go and invite ſome of the *Suſqueſahanocks* to them. In three or four Days, ſixty of thoſe gigantic People came down, with Preſents of various Kinds; and the Wind being too high for their Canoes, five of their chief Werowances came boldly on board the *Engliſh* Barge, and croſſed the Bay to *Tockwogh*.

THIS Nation of the *Suſqueſahanocks* could muſter about ſix Hundred fighting Men, and lived in palliſadoed

1608.

Mat. Scrivener Vice-President.

Towns, to defend themſelves againſt the *Maſſawomecks*, their mortal Enemies. They were very large, well-proportioned Men, and appeared like Giants to the *Engliſh* and other *Indians*; yet ſeemed of an honeſt and ſimple Diſpoſition, and were ſcarcely reſtrained from adoring the *Engliſh*, as Gods. And their Language and Attire were very ſuitable to their Stature and Appearance. For their Language ſounded deep, and ſolemn, and hollow, like a Voice in a Vault. Their Attire was the Skins of Bears and Wolves, ſo cut, that the Man's Head went through the Neck, and the Ears of the Bear were faſtened on his Shoulders, while the Noſe and Teeth hung dangling down upon his Breaſt. Behind was another Bear's Face ſplit, with a Paw hanging at the Noſe. And their Sleeves, coming down to their Elbows, were the Necks of Bears, with their Arms going through the Mouth, and Paws hanging to the Noſes. One had the Head of a Wolf, hanging to a Chain, for a Jewel; and his Tobacco Pipe was three Quarters of a Yard long, carved with a Bird, a Deer, and other Devices at the great End; which was ſufficient to beat out a Man's Brains. They meaſured the Calf of the largeſt Man's Leg, and found it three Quarters of a Yard about, and all the reſt of his Limbs were in Proportion; ſo that he ſeemed the ſtatlieſt and moſt goodly Perſonage, they had ever beheld. His Arrows were five Quarters long, headed with the Splinters of a white chryſtal-like Stone, in Form of a Heart, an Inch broad, and an Inch and half, or more, long. Theſe he carried at his Back, in a Wolf's Skin for his Quiver, with his Bow in one Hand, and his Club in the other.

THE Manner of the *Engliſh* was daily to have Prayers with a Pſalm; at which Solemnity thoſe poor Barbarians wondered greatly. Prayers being done, the *Suſqueſahanocks* held a Conſultation; and then began in a very paſſionate Manner to hold up their Hands to the Sun, with a moſt frightful Song. Then embracing Captain *Smith*, they began to adore him in like Manner. He rebuked them for it; but they perſiſted, till their Song was finiſhed. After which, with a ſtrange furious Action, and a diſmal Voice, they began an Oration of their Love; which ended, they covered him with a large painted Bear's Skin. One ſtood ready with a great Chain of white Beads, weighing ſix or ſeven Pounds, which he hung about his Neck. The others had eighteen Mantles, made of divers Sorts of Skins ſewed together; all which, with many other Baubles, they laid at his Feet, ſtroaking their Hands about his Neck, for his Creation to be their Governor and Protector. They promiſed him Aids of Men and Victuals, and even offered all, that they

they had, if he would ſtay with them, to defend and revenge them on the *Maſſawomecks*. But he was obliged to leave them at *Tockwogh*, very ſorrowful for his Departure; yet promiſed to viſit them again the next Year. They knew nothing of *Powhatan* and his Territories, but the Name; and they informed the *Engliſh*, that their Hatchets and other Commodities came originally from the *French* of *Canada*. 1608. *Matt. Scrivener* Vice-Preſident.

HAVING ſearched all the Rivers and Inlets, worth Note, they paſſed down the Bay, naming all the remarkable Head-lands and Places after ſome of the Company or their Friends. On the River *Patuxen* they found the People tractable and civil above all others. They, as well as the *Patowmacks*, were very urgent with *Smith* to revenge them on the *Maſſawomecks*, which he promiſed to do, but was afterwards croſſed in his Purpoſe. For depending upon the Aſſiſtance and Proviſions of thoſe two Nations, and of the *Suſqueſahanocks*, he was very willing to hazard his Perſon in the Expedition; and therefore, after his Return, he petitioned the Council for forty Men, to effect ſuch a Conqueſt and Diſcovery. But the Council, envying his Induſtry and Succeſs, and deterred perhaps alſo by the Difficulty of the Undertaking, refuſed to riſque the Lives of ſo many Men, in ſo long and ſo dangerous an Enterpriſe.

IN the Diſcovery of *Rappahanock* River, they were kindly received and entertained by the People of *Moraughtacund*. Here they met with an old Friend and Acquaintance, one *Moſco*, a luſty *Indian* of *Wighcocomoco* on the River *Patowmack*. They ſuppoſed him ſome *Frenchman*'s Son, becauſe, he had a thick, black, buſhy Beard, and the *Indians* ſeldom have any at all. And he was not a little proud of this, and to ſee ſo many of his Countrymen. He was very officious and uſeful to the *Engliſh*; and adviſed them, by all Means not to paſs over to the *Rappahanocks*, who would certainly kill them for being Friends with the *Moraughtacunds*, who had lately ſtolen three of their King's Women. But thinking, he only ſaid this to ſecure their Trade to his Friends, they croſſed the River to the *Rappahanocks*. There, under Pretence of Trade, they were invited up *Rappahanock* Creek, where they had laid an Ambuſh; and after a ſmart Skirmiſh, in which many *Indians* were ſlain and wounded, the *Engliſh* came off Victors without the leaſt Hurt. Having driven them up into the Woods, they ſeized three or four Canoes, full of Commodities, which, with ſome Arrows, they had gathered up, they preſented to *Moſco* for his Kindneſs. And he, on his Part, received them in the moſt triumphant Manner, and in the

1608. best martial Order under Arms, that he could procure of the *Moraughtacunds*.

Matt. Scrivener Vice-President.

THEY ſpent the reſt of the Day in fitting up their Boat with a Breaſt-work of *Maſſawomeck* Targets, which they had received from them, as Preſents, at the Head of the Bay, and which had been of ſingular Uſe in the Battle with the *Rappahanocks*. They were made of ſmall Twigs, woven together ſo firmly with Strings of wild Hemp and Silk-graſs, that no Arrow could poſſibly pierce them. The next Morning, they ſet Sail up the River; and *Moſco* followed along the Shore, and at laſt deſired to go with them in the Boat. As they paſſed by *Piſacack*, *Matchopeake*, and *Mecuppom*, three Towns, ſituate on the North Side of the River, on high, white, clay Clifts, with a low Marſh over againſt them, and the River but narrow (the Place, where the *Briſtol* Works now are) thirty or forty *Rappahanocks* had ſo diſguiſed themſelves with Branches, that they took them for little Buſhes, growing in the Sedge. They ſaw their Arrows often ſtrike againſt the Targets, and drop into the River; and at laſt *Moſco*, falling flat on his Face in the Boat, cried out; *The Rappahanocks*. They ſoon perceived them to be the Buſhes in the Sedge, which at the firſt Volley fell down. And when they had paſſed about half a Mile further, they again ſhewed themſelves, ſinging and dancing very merrily. But they were kindly treated by the reſt of the Nations to the Falls, and they even uſed their utmoſt Intereſt with *Moſco*, to bring the *Engliſh* to them. Between *Secobeck*, on the South, and *Maſſawteck*, on the North Side of the River, there was a ſmall Iſland or two, which made the River broader, than ordinary. Here Mr. *Richard Fetherſtone*, one of their Company died; who, from his firſt coming to the Country, had behaved himſelf honeſtly, valiantly, and induſtriouſly. They buried him in a little Bay, which they then called *Fetherſtone's Bay*, with a Volley of their Arms. But the reſt of the laſt Supply, who had, on the Expedition, been miſerably ſick and harraſſed with their Seaſoning, had by this time perfectly recovered their Health.

THE next Day, they ſailed up as high, as their Boat could go, ſetting up Croſſes, and carving their Names on the Trees; which they conſtantly did at all the higheſt Places, they went to. As they ranged about at the Falls, the Sentinel ſaw an Arrow fall by him; and giving the Alarm, they perceived about an hundred nimble *Indians*, ſkipping from Tree to Tree, and letting fly their Arrows as faſt, as they could. But after half an Hour's Skirmiſh, they all vaniſhed as ſuddenly, as they came. As the *Engliſh* returned from the Purſuit, they found an *Indian*, lying as dead.

dead, ſhot in the Knee. *Moſco*, who had been of great Service in the Battle, was as furious to beat out his Brains, as ever Dog was againſt a Bear. But protecting him from his Rage, and carrying him to the Surgeon, who attended to cure the Captain's Hurt of the Stingray, he was within an Hour ſo far recovered, that he both eat and ſpoke. He was Brother to the King of *Haſſininga*, one of the four Nations of the *Mannahocks*. Theſe were a People, dwelling above the Falls of *Rappahanock*, Neighbours to, and in ſtrict Friendſhip and Alliance with the *Manakins* againſt *Powhatan* and his Territories. For the *Manakins* were not confined to one Place or Town, as is vulgarly thought, but ſpread all that Country, from a ſmall Diſtance above the Falls of *James* River up to the Mountains, in ſeveral Towns; and they were the Heads or Chiefs of the League and Confederacy of the upland and mountain *Indians* againſt the Power and Tyranny of *Powhatan*. Theſe *Mannahocks*, their Neighbours and Allies, lived on ſmall Streams, in a hilly Country, chiefly by hunting; and were then come down to fiſh at *Mohaſkahod*, a ſmall hunting Town, on the North Side of the Falls of *Rappahanock*, and the Boundary between them and the *Nantaughtacunds*, a large Nation on the navigable River, below the Falls. The *Engliſh* aſked their Priſoner; Why they had endeavoured to deſtroy them, who came to them in Peace, to ſeek their Friendſhip. He anſwered, that they heard, the *Engliſh* were a People, come from under the World, to take their World from them. Being aſked; how many Worlds, he knew, he ſaid, he knew none but that, which was under the Sky, that covered him, and which conſiſted of the *Powhatans*, the *Manakins*, and the *Maſſawomecks*. And he told them, that the laſt dwelt on a great Water, had many Boats, and ſo many Men, that they warred on all the World beſides. After many other Queſtions concerning the Country, eſpecially beyond the great Mountains, to which he could give no ſatisfactory Anſwers, they preſented him with ſome Toys, and perſuaded him to go along with them. But he preſſed them much to ſtay the coming of the *Mannahock* Kings, who, for their good Uſage to him, ſhould be their Friends. And notwithſtanding *Moſco*'s eager Repreſentations to be gone, they reſolved to ſtay till Night, preparing themſelves to entertain, whatever ſhould come.

1608. *Matt. Scrivener* Vice-Preſident.

ALL this while the King of *Haſſininga* was ſeeking the reſt, and held a long Conſultation, what to do. When the *Engliſh* had weighed, and were gone, they followed them all Night, yelling, and hollowing, and ſhooting their Arrows, and would come to no Terms or Diſcourſe. But in the

1608. *Matt. Scrivener* Vice-President.

Morning, being brought to a Parley, *Amoroleck*, the Prisoner, held a long Discourse with them. He told them, how good the *English* were, and how kindly they had used him; that they had a *Patowmack* with them, that loved them as his Life, and would have slain him, had they not prevented it; and that he might have his Liberty, if they would be Friends; to which he advised them by all means, since to do them any Hurt was impossible. Upon this they all hung their Bows and Quivers upon the Trees; and one came swimming aboard with a Bow tied on his Head, and another with a Quiver of Arrows. Having presented them to the Captain, he used them very kindly, and told them, that the other three Kings should do the same, and then the great King of his World should be their Friend. This was no sooner demanded, than performed; and so going ashore on a low morass Point of Land, those four Kings came, and received *Amoroleck*. And after many mutual Civilities and Presents, the *English* departed, leaving four or five hundred *Mannahocks*, singing, and dancing, and making loud and barbarous Rejoicings.

In their Return down the River they visited all their Friends, who rejoiced much at their Victory over the *Mannahocks*. By their Intreaty, Captain *Smith* was induced to make Peace with the *Rappahanocks*; upon Condition, that they should present him the King's Bow and Arrows, and not offer to come armed, where he was; and that they should be Friends with the *Moraughtacunds*, his Friends, and give their King's Son a Hostage for the Performance. Accordingly, the King's of *Nantaughtacund* and *Pisasack* met the *English* at the Place, where they first fought. There the King of *Rappahanock* presented his Bow and Arrows, and performed all, they demanded, except the delivering his Son. For having no other, he said, he could not live without him; and he offered in his Stead, to give up the three Women, which the *Moraughtacunds* had stolen from him. This was accepted; and the Women being brought, Captain *Smith* presented each of them with a Chain of Beads. Then causing the King of *Rappahanock*, of *Moraughtacund*, and *Mosco* to stand before him, he bid the King of *Rappahanock* take her, he loved best, *Moraughtacund* to chuse next, and to *Mosco* he gave the third. And thus was the Peace concluded and celebrated with feasting, singing, and dancing. And *Mosco*, to express his Love to the *English*, changed his Name to *Uttasantasough*, which signified in their Language, *Stranger*, and was the Name, by which they called the *English*. And then all the *Indians*, promising to be always their Friends, and to plant

plant Corn purposely for them; and the *English*, on their Side, to provide Hatchets, Beads, and Copper for them; they departed, giving them a Volley of their Fire-Arms, which they returned with as loud Shouts and Cries, as their Strengths could utter. 1608. *Matt. Scrivener* Vice-President.

THAT Night they anchored in the River *Piankatank*, and discovered it, as high as it was navigable. But the People were gone out to hunting, except a few old Men, Women, and Children, that were tending their Corn. Of these they obtained a Promise of Part, when they should fetch it; as they had likewise done of all the Nations, where-ever they had been. Going from thence to *Point Comfort*, they where in a Bay on the South of the Mouth of *York* River, then called *Gosnold*'s *Bay*, surprised, in the Night, with such a sudden Gust of Thunder and Rain, that they never expected more to see *James-Town*. But discerning the Land by the Flashes of Lightening, they avoided splitting on the Shore; till, by the Help of the same Light, they found *Point Comfort*, where they landed, and refreshed themselves the rest of the Night.

HAVING discovered so many Nations at a Distance, they thought it highly proper and necessary to know their near Neighbours, the *Chesapeakes* and *Nandsamonds*, of whom they had, as yet, only heard. Therefore setting Sail for the Southern Shore, they entered a narrow River, then called *Chesapeake*, but now *Elsabeth*, on which the Town of *Norfolk* stands. It had a good Channel, but some Shoals about the Entrance. They sailed up six or seven Miles, and saw two or three little Garden-plots with Houses, and the Shores overgrown with the largest Pines, they had ever seen in the Country. But neither seeing, nor hearing any People, and the River being very narrow, they returned back, and coasted the Shore towards *Nandsamond*, which they found to be chiefly Oyster-Banks. At the Mouth of *Nandsamond*, they spied six or seven *Indians*, making their Weirs, who presently fled. But the *English* went ashore, and threw divers Toys, where they were working, and so departed. They were not gone far, before the *Indians* returned, and began to sing, and dance, and call them back. One of them came voluntarily into their Boat, and invited them up the River to his House, which was in a little Island, where (as well as on the main Land against it) they saw many and large Corn-fields. He treated them with great Civility, and they in return, presented him, his Wife, and Children, with such Toys, as highly pleased them. By that time the others being come, invited them higher up the River, under Pretence of going to their Houses

1708. Houſes likewiſe. But they ſoon found, that they only intended to decoy them up into the Narrows of the River, where the whole Nations of the *Nanſamonds* and *Cheſapeakes* were in Ambuſh to receive them. Having diſcovered the Treachery, they made the beſt of their Way down into the Open, amidſt the Shot of three or four Hundred *Indians*, which they returned from their Muſkets with ſuch Effect, that they ſoon made them glad to take Shelter behind the Trees. Above an hundred Arrows ſtuck in their Breaſtwork of *Maſſawomeck* Targets, and about the Boat, yet none was hurt. Only *Anthony Bagnall*, the Surgeon, was ſhot in his Hat, and another in the Sleeve. Having gained the Open againſt the Iſland, they ſeized on all their Canoes, and reſolved, upon Conſultation, to burn every thing on the Iſland at Night. In the mean while, they began to cut to Pieces their Canoes; at the Sight of which the *Indians* threw down their Arms, and ſued for Peace; which the *Engliſh* granted, on Condition, they would bring their King's Bow and Arrows, with a Chain of Pearl; and ſhould, when they came back again, give them four hundred Baſkets of Corn. Otherwiſe they threatened, to break all their Canoes, to burn their Houſes and Corn, and to deſtroy all, that they had. To theſe Conditions the *Indians* moſt joyfully agreed; and flocking down in great Numbers with their Baſkets, they ſoon loaded the Boat with Corn, and ſo parted good Friends.

Mat. Scrivener Vice-Preſident.

AND thus having viewed and reconnôitred all the Places on the Bay, one of the fineſt perhaps and moſt commodious Countries in the World, which Nature ſeems to have formed for one noble and complete Dominion, but which is ſince unhappily divided by the large Grant to the Lord *Baltimore*, and having paſſed about three thouſand Miles, according to their own Computation, in that ſmall and open Boat, and in the Midſt of many barbarous and ſavage Nations, they returned with Joy and Triumph to *James-Town*, where they arrived ſafe the 7th of *September*, 1608. There they found Mr. *Scrivener*, and ſeveral others, well recovered; ſome ſick; many dead; the late Preſident a Priſoner for Mutiny; and the Corn, by Mr. *Scrivener*'s honeſt Diligence, gathered; but the Proviſions in the Store much injured by the Rain.

BUT whilſt Captain *Smith* and others were thus induſtriouſly engaged in making good this Settlement, the Second or *Northern* Colony, granted by the Letters patent to the Town of *Plimouth* and others, was embraced and undertaken by ſeveral Perſons of Fortune and Diſtinction, and particularly by Sir *John Popham*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of *England*.

gland. He was a Gentlemen of one of the greateſt Families in the *Weſt* of *England*, but is memorable to all Poſterity for his infamous Partiality and Injuſtice in the Trial of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. However, he was a Perſon, at that Time, of great Power and Intereſt, and in high Eſteem with many for Wiſdom and Virtue; and having procured Men and Money, he ſent Captain *George Popham*, as Preſident, Captain *Raleigh Gilbert*, as Admiral, and many other Gentlemen in ſeveral Poſts and Offices, with an hundred Men, to poſſeſs and ſettle the Country. They ſet Sail from *Plimouth*, the laſt of *May*, 1607, and fell in with ſome Iſlands, then called *Monahigan*. From thence they proceeded to the Continent, and ſettled upon a very barren and rocky Coaſt, at the Mouth of *Sagadahock*, a large navigable River, which muſt be either the River *Saco* in *New-England*, or elſe St. *Juan* in *Acadia*. But that Winter was ſo extremely cold and frozen, that they could not range much about, nor ſearch the Country; and their Proviſion was ſo ſcanty, that they were obliged to ſend all, except forty five of their Company back. Captain *Popham*, their Preſident, died ſoon; and not long after, they were informed by the Ships that brought them Supplies, of the Death of the two principal Promoters and Supporters of the Undertaking, the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Popham*, and Sir *John Gilbert*. This laſt Gentleman, who was Brother, or perhaps rather Nephew, to the famous Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, before-mentioned, was choſen Preſident of the Council for the *Northern* Colony. His Brother, Captain *Raleigh Gilbert*, Admiral of this Colony, ſucceeding to his Eſtate, was obliged to return to *England*, to enter upon his Inheritance, and take Care of his Affairs. And the reſt alſo, being doubtful of proper Aſſiſtance and Encouragement, and having no Proſpect in the Country, but of the moſt extreme Miſery and Famine, all returned to *England* this Year 1608. And thus was this Plantation begun and ended in one Year; and that vaſt Grant, in which lay large Tracts of fine and noble Country, was ſtigmatized in the Groſs, and deſpiſed, as a cold, barren, mountainous, and rocky Deſert.

1608. *Mat. Scrivener* Vice-Preſident.

ABOUT this Time alſo, Captain *Henry Hudſon* diſcovered *Long-Iſland*, *New-York*, *Hudſon*'s River, and the Parts adjacent. As the *Engliſh* were buſily employed in their own Diſcoveries and Settlements, he could hope for but little Advantage from his own Country; and therefore he applied himſelf to the States-General of the United Provinces, and ſold this important Diſcovery to them. But this Sale was always excepted againſt by the *Engliſh*, as the Diſcovery was made by his Majeſty's Commiſſion, and the Sale

1608. Sale passed without the King's Consent, to whom, of Right, all new Lands and Discoveries belong. However, the *Dutch* crept in by Degrees, built new *Amsterdam*, and other Towns, strongly fortified themselves, planted, and became a flourishing Colony.

Mat. Scrivener Vice-President.

DOCTOR *Whitgift*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, a Man of a mild and gentle Disposition, having died four Years before this, was succeeded in that high Preferment by Dr. *Richard Bancroft*, a Person of a quite different Temper. He had very high Notions with Relation to the Government of both Church and State; and was accordingly a great Stickler for, and Promoter of, the King's absolute Power, and failed not to take all Occasions, to oblige the Puritans to conform to the Church of *England*. This Prelate's Harshness and Warmth caused many of that People to take the Resolution this Year of settling themselves in *Virginia*, and some were actually come off for that Purpose. But the Arch-bishop finding, that they were preparing in great Numbers to depart, obtained a Proclamation from the King, forbidding any to go, without his Majesty's express Leave. And this was the more readily granted, as the Court mortally hated that Sect, and were now afraid, that they would become too numerous and too powerful in *Virginia*.

John Smith President.

IN *Virginia*, on the 10th of *September*, by the Election of the Council, and the Request of the Colony, Captain *Smith* was invested with the Government; which, till then, he would by no Means accept, tho' often importuned to it. And now the building of *Ratcliffe*'s Palace was stopped, and Works of more immediate Use and Necessity undertaken. The Church was repaired; the Store-house new covered; and a Place made ready for the Reception of the Supplies, they daily expected from *England*. The Fort was reduced into Form; the Order of the Watch was renewed; the Troops trained at each Setting of the Watch; and the whole Company every *Saturday* exercised, in the Plain towards the *West*, which was prepared for that Purpose, and called *Smithfield*; where sometimes above an hundred *Indians* would stand in Amazement, to behold how a File would batter a Tree, where the President had made them a Mark to shoot at. And now being the Time of gathering Corn, and of Plenty among the *Indians*, the Boats were trimmed for Trade, and sent out under the Command of Lieutenant *Percy*. But in their Way, meeting Captain *Newport* with the second Supply, he brought them back to *James-Town*.

CAPTAIN *Newport* was in reality an empty, idle, interested Man; very fearful and suspicious in Times of Danger and Difficulty; but a very great and important Person

in

in his own Talk and Conceit. He had, by the Advantage of going to and fro, gained so much upon the Ear and Confidence of the Council and Company in *England*, that whatever he proposed, was, for the most part, concluded and resolved on. And upon this Voyage, he obtained a private Commission, not to return without a Lump of Gold, a Certainty of the *South-Sea*, or one of the lost Company, sent out by Sir *Walter Ralegh*. Besides, he brought an express Command, to discover the Country of the *Manakins*, with a Barge, for Conveniency of Carriage, to be taken into five Pieces, which they were to carry beyond the Falls, to convey them to the *South-Sea*. He likewise brought over a Crown for *Powhatan*, with Orders for his Coronation, and Presents of a Bason and Ewer, Bed, Bedstead, Cloaths, and other costly Novelties; which stately Kind of Court had this bad Effect, that it made him value himself too much, and overrate his Favour, which they had before much better for a plain Piece of Copper. In this Voyage came over many Persons of Distinction; Captain *Peter Wynne*, and Captain *Richard Waldo*, two old Soldiers and valiant Gentlemen, both appointed of the Council; Mr. *Francis West*, Brother to the Lord Delawarr; *Ralegh Crosshaw*, *John Russel*, *John Codrington*, *Daniel Tucker*, Mr. *Hunt*, *Thomas Foreſt*, and others, to the Number of seventy Persons. In this Ship likewise arrived Mrs. *Foreſt*, and *Anne Burras*, her Maid, the first *Englishwomen* ever in this Country. And eight *Poles* and *Germans* were sent, to make Pitch, Tar, Glass, Mills, and Soap-Ashes; which, when the Country was replenished with People and Necessaries, would have done exceedingly well, but in that their infant State, they were only a Burthen and Hindrance to the rest, who were sufficiently puzzled and employed to find Subsistance for themselves.

1608. *John Smith* President.

CAPTAIN *Smith*, whose Mind was solid and provident, and plainly foresaw the ill Consequence of spending that Time in these Projects, which ought to be employed in the speedy Dispatch of the Ship, and in trading and laying in a Store of Provisions for the Year, was much mortified and perplexed with these Orders, and strenuously opposed their Execution in Council. But *Newport* undertook to freight the Bark of twenty Tons with Corn, in going and returning from the *Manakins*; and to obtain another Load for her of *Powhatan*, from *Werowocomoco*. He also promised a large Proportion of Victuals from the Ship; which he was so far from performing, that the Colony was obliged to spare him three Hogsheads of Corn to victual him homeward. In short, he represented *Smith*'s Opposition, as a mere Device,

to

1608. *John Smith* President.

to hinder his Journey, that he might himself effect the Discovery; and he said, that his Cruelty to the *Indians* might well be a Means to hinder these Designs, and to make them seek Revenge. *Smith*'s Opinion being therefore over-ruled by the unanimous Voice of the Council, all other Works and Designs were laid aside, and an hundred and twenty chosen Men appointed for *Newport*'s Guard on the Expedition.

BUT *Smith*, to clear himself of these Suspicions, and to shew, that the *Indians* were not so desperate, as was pretended by *Newport*, and how willing he was to assist, as far as he could, undertook himself to carry their Message to *Powhatan*, and to invite him to *James-Town* to receive his Presents. And taking with him only Captain *Waldo*, and three more, he went across by Land, about twelve Miles, to *Werowocomoco*, where he passed the River in an *Indian* Canoe. *Powhatan*, being thirty Miles off, was immediately sent for; and in the mean time, *Pocohontas* and her Women entertained him with a strange Mask and barbarian Piece of Revelry, and feasted them with all the savage Dainties, they could devise. The next Day, *Powhatan* came, and *Smith* delivered his Message, together with *Namontack*, his Servant, whom he had sent to *England*. And he desired him to come to his Father *Newport*, to receive his Presents, and to enter upon Measures for their effectual Revenge against the *Manakins*. To this that subtle Barbarian answered: *That if their King had sent him any Presents, he also was a King, and that was his Land: That he would stay eight Days, to receive them: That* Newport *ought to come to him, and not He to go to their Fort, which was too foolish a Bait to be taken: That as to the* Manakins, *he could revenge his own Wrongs; and for any salt Water beyond the Mountains*, he told him, *that all the Relations, they had received from his People, were false.* Whereupon he began to draw Plots upon the Ground, according to his Discourse, of all those Regions. Many other complimental Discourses passed between them; and so *Smith* returned with this Answer to *James-Town*.

HEREUPON the Presents were sent round by Water, and the Captains went across by Land, with a Guard of fifty Men. All being met at *Werowocomoco*, the next Day was appointed for his Coronation. Then the Presents were brought; his Bason and Ewer, Bed and Furniture, were set up; and his Scarlet Cloak and Apparel, with much ado, put on him, being perswaded by *Namontack*, that they would not hurt him. But a great Coil and Trouble there was to make him kneel, to receive his Crown. He neither knew the Majesty of a Crown, nor the Meaning of bending the

Knee,

Knee, which obliged them to uſe ſo many Perſuaſions, Examples, and Inſtructions, as tired them all. At laſt, by leaning hard on his Shoulders, he ſtooped a little, and three, being ready with the Crown, put it on his Head; when, by the Warning of a Piſtol, the Boats were prepared with ſuch a Volley of Shot, that the King ſtarted up in a horrible Fright, till he ſaw, all was well. Then recollecting himſelf, to return their Kindneſs, he gave his old Shoes and Mantle to Captain *Newport*; and finding him determined to diſcover the *Manakins*, he did his utmoſt to divert him from his Purpoſe, and refuſed to lend him either Men or Guides, except *Namontack*. And ſo after ſome ſlight Compliments on both Sides, in Requital for his Preſents, he gave *Newport* a Heap of Ears of Corn, which might contain ſeven or eight Buſhels, and as much more was purchaſed in the Town, with which they returned to the Fort at *James-Town*. 1608. *John Smith* Preſident.

IMMEDIATELY upon their Return, Captain *Newport*, with an hundred and twenty choſen Men, led by Captain *Waldo*, Lieutenant *Percy*, Captain *Wynne*, Mr. *Weſt*, and Mr. *Scrivener*, ſet forward for the Diſcovery of the *Manakins*; leaving the Preſident at the Fort, with eighty or ninety weak and ſickly Men, to load the Ship. Arriving at the Falls, they marched by Land about forty Miles, and found a very fair, fertile, well-watered Country. Two Towns of the *Manakins* they diſcovered, ſituate on the *South* Side of the River. The People uſed them neither well nor ill; yet for their Security, they took one of their petty Kings, and led him bound, to conduct them the Way. In their Return, they ſpent ſome Time in ſearching for Mines, having with them one *William Callicut*, a Refiner, for that Purpoſe. From the Cruſt of Earth, which they dug, he perſuaded them, that he extracted ſome ſmall Quantity of Silver. With this poor Trial, they returned down the ſame Path, they went, to the Falls; where the *Indians* feigned, that many Ships were come into the Bay, to kill the *Engliſh* at *James-Town*. But as for their Corn, they had hid it in the Woods, and could by no Means be induced to trade. And being thus deluded and diſappointed, they returned to *James-Town*, half ſick, and all complaining, being ſadly harraſſed with Toil, Famine, and Diſcontent.

NO ſooner were they landed, but the Preſident diſperſed as many, as were able, ſome to make Glaſs, and others for Pitch, Tar, and Soap-Aſhes. Leaving them at the Fort under the Councils Care and Overſight, he himſelf carried thirty about five Miles down the River, to learn to cut down Trees, make Clapboard, and lie in the Woods. Among theſe he choſe *Gabriel Beadle* and *John Ruſſel*, two

fine

1608. fine and proper Gentlemen of the laſt Supply. Theſe were, at firſt, ſtrange Diverſions for Men of Pleaſure. *John Smith* Preſident. Yet they lodged, eat, and drank, worked or played, only as the Preſident himſelf did; and all things were carried ſo pleaſantly, that within a Week they became Maſters, and thirty or forty of ſuch voluntary Gentlemen, would have done more in a Day than an hundred of the reſt, who muſt be driven to it by Compulſion. Being inured to Labour by theſe means, they ſoon made it their Delight, to hear the Trees thunder, as they fell; and afterwards became very hardy, uſeful, and reſolute Men, eſpecially Mr. *Ruſſel*. But the Axes often bliſtering their tender Fingers, they would, at every third Stroke, drown the Eccho, with a loud Volley of Oaths. To remedy which Sin, the Preſident ordered every Man's Oaths to be numbered, and at Night, for every Oath, to have a Can of Water poured down his Sleeve; which ſo waſhed and drenched the Offender, that in a ſhort time, an Oath was not heard in a Week.

In the mean while, Mr. *Scrivener*, Captain *Waldo*, and Captain *Wynne*, at the Fort, each, in their ſeveral Way, carefully regarded their Charge. But when the Preſident returned, ſeeing the Time conſumed, and no Proviſions got, and that the Ship lay idle at a great Charge, and did nothing, he immediately embarked in the Diſcovery Barge, taking with him eighteen Men and another Boat, and leaving Orders with the Council, to ſend Lieutenant *Percy* after him, with the next Barge, that arrived at the Fort. Going into *Chickahominy*, the *Indians* were ſurly, and knowing his Wants, with much Scorn and Inſolence refuſed to trade. But the Preſident, perceiving, it was *Powhatan*'s Policy to ſtarve the *Engliſh*, told them, that he came not ſo much for Corn, as to revenge his own Captivity and the Death of his two Men; which he pretended to attribute to them. And ſo, landing his Men, and making ready to charge them, they immediately fled. Soon after they ſent Ambaſſadors, with Corn, Fiſh, Fowl, and whatever elſe they had, to make their Peace. Their Corn being that Year but bad, they complained extremely of their own Wants, yet freighted their Boats with an hundred Buſhels, and in like manner Lieutenant *Percy*'s, that not long after arrived. Returning to *James-Town*, the Colony was much pleaſed and revived by this ſeaſonable Supply. Yet ſuch was the Malice and Envy of ſome, that they had rather hazard a Starving, than that *Smith*'s Endeavours ſhould prove ſo much more effectual, than theirs. And *Newport* and *Ratcliffe* had projected, not only to depoſe

pose him, but to keep him out of the Fort; under Pretence, that, being President, he had left his Place and the Fort, without their Consent. But their Horns were too short, and they themselves narrowly escaped a greater Mischief. 1608. *John Smith* President.

ALL this while, their old Tavern, the Ship, made as much of all them, that had either Money or Ware, as could be desired. By this time, they were become perfect on all Sides, the Sailers, the Soldiers, and the *Indians*; and much more Care was taken, to maintain their private and pernicious Trade, than to provide things necessary for the Colony. *Newport* and his Mariners had so many private Factors at the Fort, that in six or seven Weeks, of two or three hundred Axes, Hoes, Pick-axes, and other Instruments for the Use of the Colony, scarce twenty could be found; and for Pike-heads, Powder, Shot, or any thing else they could steal, they knew well, how to convey them secretly, to trade with the *Indians* for Furs, Baskets, young Beasts, and other such-like Commodities. So that, altho' *Virginia* afforded no Commodities for those, who were at the Expence of the Settlement, yet these Men found Means, by those indirect Methods, of driving on a very profitable Trade. And thus, by their false Excuses, Informations, and Advices in *England*, and by their unlawful Trade here, the Adventurers were cousened, and the Action almost overthrown. Upon this Account therefore, as well as under Pretence, that his Orders were, not to return, without a Lump of Gold, a Certainty of the *South-Sea*, or one of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s lost Company, the President had once determined to send away the Ship, and to oblige *Newport* to stay one Year in the Country, to learn to speak of his own Experience. But upon his Submission and Acknowledgment, this Punishment was remitted, and he was suffered to return to *England* in the Ship; where, it is not to be doubted, but that he represented Matters in the worst Light.

IT is certain, that the Treasurer and Council in *England* were greatly disappointed in their Hopes. For they expected, upon their Discoveries in *America*, to have speedy Returns, in Gold and Silver, and such other rich Commodities, as the *Spaniards* found at their first Arrival. But *Virginia* is not a Country of Mines. It is formed by Nature for producing all the Necessaries, or even Elegancies of Life, to as high a Degree, as perhaps any other Country whatsoever. It lies under the same Clime, as some Parts of *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, and is a Country of Plenty and Abundance; and therefore, in the End, is more valuable,

1608. *John Smith* President.

and even richer, than those Regions, which abound in Gold and Silver. The Truth of this is confirmed by Experience; and it is an undeniable Maxim in Politicks, that Commodities of the first Necessity, or such as are of absolute Use for our Subsistance and the Support of Life, have a much greater real and intrinsic Value, than those, which only receive an imaginary Worth, by Compact or Agreement, and are wholly designed, as a Gage, or Measure, of the real and intrinsic Value of other Commodities. The true Riches therefore, and Power of every Country, depend upon the plentiful Production of Corn, Stocks, Cloathing, and other such Commodities of the first Necessity; the Want of which can, by no means, be supplied by ever so great an Abundance of Gold and Silver. But the Want of them, on the contrary, may be, and often have been, supplied, by stamped Leather, Tallies, Shells, Paper, or other such arbitrary Representations. But altho' these Necessaries of Life are of this greater real Value, yet they are not to be had at once. Previous Preparations by Culture, Manufacturing, Stocks, and other Improvements, are necessary; which often require a long Time, to bring them to any tolerable Degree of Perfection. And the *English*, when they first came to *Virginia*, happened upon a Land, just as God had made it, little planted, manured or improved. The Inhabitants were an idle, improvident, vagabond People; knowing nothing of Gold and Silver, and other valuable Commodities; and careless of every thing, but just from Hand to Mouth.

But however free they might be from Blame, the Council in *England* were certainly very much fretted with the Disappointment, and by this Ship, wrote the President a very angry Letter. They complained of the vain Hopes, they had been fed with, and very small Proofs; and of their Factions and silly Projects about dividing the Country, concerning which the late President and his Faction had written some idle Story to the Earl of *Salisbury*, at that time chief Minister of State. And they threatened, unless the Charge of this Voyage, amounting to about two thousand Pounds, was defrayed by the Ship's Return, they should be deserted, and left to remain here, as banished Men. To this Letter Captain *Smith* gave a very plain and soldierly Answer by the Ship, which was at length dispatched, with the Trials of Pitch, Tar, Glass, Frankincense, and Soap-Ashes, and with what Wainscot and Clapboard could be provided. In it he endeavoured to lay open to them the Causes, that kept them from laying such a Foundation, as might have given better Satisfaction; and advises

advises them against expecting any profitable Returns at present. He declares his own Integrity and Sincerity towards them, and warns them against some Persons, who caused them to believe much more, than was true. He tells them, that their Directions by *Newport* had been followed, altho' he himself was directly against them, as they were very prejudicial and to the imminent Hazard of the whole Colony, which was then, when it was too late, generally confessed. He complains of *Newport*, expose the Vanity and ill Consequences of his Projects, his Lingering in the Country, the good Cheer and Luxury of him and the Sailers, and their Embezzlement of the publick Stores. For of the two thousand Pounds, which this Ship cost them, he assures them, that the Colony had not received the Value of an hundred Pounds. He blames *Ratcliffe*, *Archer*, and others, as the Authors of their Factions and Disturbances; and tells them, that he had sent *Ratcliffe*, a counterfeit Impostor, whose right Name was *Sicklemore*, home, lest the Company should cut his Throat. And he judiciously insists upon their sending useful Labourers and proper Tradesmen for their present Condition; and upon providing, first of all, Food, Lodging, and such other Necessaries, as were absolutely requisite for their Being and Subsistance, before they went on any other Projects of Gain or Curiosity, for which they were no ways fitted, in their present weak and infant Condition. At the same time, he sent them two Barrels of such Stones, as he thought contained some Kind of Ore, with Notes, signifying in what Places he found them. And to shew, he could make as large a Discovery, as *Newport*'s of the *Manakins*, for less Charge, than he spent them at every Meal, he sent them a Map of the Bay and Rivers, with a Relation annexed, of the Countries, and of the Nations, that dwelt upon them. And this indeed was done with such wonderful Exactness, as shewed him to have travelled far, and seen much; and it has ever since been the Original, from which all later Maps and Descriptions of *Virginia* have been mostly copied. 1608. *John Smith* President.

AND now the Ship being gone, the grand Remora and Obstacle to all necessary Business, the Colony began to look about them. The Prospect was dismal, and they were all in the utmost Consternation, expecting nothing else but the most extreme Famine. However to make up, in some measure, their lost Time, Mr. *Scrivener* had been sent, before *Newport*'s Departure, with the Bark and Barges to *Werowocomoco*. There he found the *Indians* more ready to fight, than to trade. But his Vigilancy prevented their Plots; and by the Means of *Namontack*, he got three or

1608. four Hogſheads of Corn, and as much Pocones, a red Root, at that time eſteemed an excellent Dye. Meeting *Newport* at *Point Comfort*, he returned to the Fort; and the Preſident, taking him and Captain *Wynne*, ſet off immediately for *Nandſamond*. That Nation at firſt denied him, not only the four hundred Baſkets of Corn, they had promiſed, but any Trade at all. They excuſed themſelves on Account of their Corn's being almoſt ſpent, and becauſe they were commanded by *Powhatan*, to keep what was left, and not to let the *Engliſh* even enter their River. The Preſident finding, nothing was to be done in the Way of Peace, reſolved to uſe Force. At the firſt Onſet, the *Indians* all fled, without ſhooting an Arrow. Then marching up to their Houſes, they ſet Fire to the firſt, they came to. When the *Indians* perceived that, they offered, if they would make no more Spoil, to give them half the Corn, they had. Accordingly, before Night, they loaded their three Boats; and for ſparing them this Year, they promiſed to plant Corn purpoſely for them the next. With this they returned to *James-Town*, about the Time, that *John Laydon* was married to *Anne Burras*; which was the firſt Chriſtian Marriage, that ever was in *Virginia*. But the Preſident ſtaid not long at the Fort. For he fitted himſelf and Captain *Waldo* out immediately with two Barges, and made a Voyage up the River. From *Wyanoake*, and all Parts there-abouts, he found the *Indians* fled; and therefore haſting up higher, he then firſt diſcovered the River and People of *Appamatox*. The little Corn, they had, was equally divided; and the Preſident gave them Copper for it, and ſuch other Toys, as fully ſatisfied them. At the ſame time, Mr. *Scrivener* and Lieutenant *Percy* went abroad in Queſt of Proviſions, but could find nothing.

John Smith Preſident.

ABOUT this time, the Preſident was invited by *Powhatan* to come to him; and he promiſed to load his Ship with Corn, provided he would ſend ſome Worknen to build him a Houſe, and would give him a Grind-ſtone, fifty Swords, ſome Muſkets, a Cock and a Hen, with much Copper and Beads. The Preſident was not ignorant of his Devices and Subtlety; yet was unwilling to neglect any Opportunity of getting Proviſions, and reſolved, ſooner than fail, to take him and all his Store by Surpriſe. To this End, he took Order with Captain *Waldo*, whom he knew to be ſure in Time of Danger, to ſecond him, if Need required. But Captain *Wynne* and Mr. *Scrivener* did their utmoſt to hinder their Project. For *Scrivener*'s ſtrict Friendſhip with Captain *Smith* was now much cooled; and he was thought to join with ſome others, in a Plot to ruin him in *England*.

But

But the President, whom no Eloquence could persuade to starve, sent off two *Englishmen* before by Land, and four *Germans*, to build the House for *Powhatan* against his Arrival. And then, having left Mr. *Scrivener* his Substitute, he set forward with the Bark and two Barges, manned only with such, as offered themselves voluntarily to go upon the Service. In the Discovery-Barge went himself, Mr. *Ralegh Chroshaw*, *John Russel*, and several other Gentlemen and Soldiers; and Mr. *William Phittiplace*, as Captain, Lieutenant *Percy*, Mr. *Francis West*, Mr. *Robert Ford*, Clerk of the Council, with many others, went on board the Bark. 1608. *John Smith* President.

THE 29th of *December* they left *James-Town*, being victualled only for three or four Days. That Night they lodged at *Warrasqueake*, where the President got sufficient Provision. The King of that Town did his utmost to divert him from seeing *Powhatan*; but finding, he could not prevail, he told him, that *Powhatan* would use them kindly, although he had sent for them only to cut their Throats. He therefore advised him, not to trust him, and to be sure to give him no Opportunity of seizing his Arms. The President thanked him for his good Counsel; and having obtained Guides from him to the *Chowanocks*, a Nation dwelling in the Fork of *Chowan*, between *Nottaway* and *Meherrin* Rivers, he sent *Michael Sicklemore*, a very valiant, honest, and painful Soldier, with Presents to that King; but chiefly to look for Silkgrass, and to enquire after Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s lost Colony. The next Night they lodged at *Kicquotan*, and were detained there six or seven Days by the extreme Wind, Rain, Frost, and Snow. This obliged them to keep their *Christmas* among the Savages; and they were never more merry in their Lives, lodged by better Fires, or fed with greater Plenty of good Bread, Oysters, Fish, Flesh, and Wildfowl. Departing thence, they arrived on the 12th of *January*, thro' various Accidents, at *Werowocomoco*; where they found the River frozen near half a Mile from the Shore. But the President, running his Barge up, as far as he could by breaking the Ice, was left by the Ebb upon the oozy Shoals. In this dangerous Situation, he plunged first into the River himself; and by his Example, taught them to march, near Middle deep, a Flight-shot, through the frozen Ooze. When the Barge should float, he appointed two or three to return her aboard the Bark; where they, soon after, came into such Distress for Want of Water, that the River being salt, they were obliged to make fresh Water, by melting the Ice. 1609.

THE President and his Company quartered in the next Cabbins, they found, and sent to *Powhatan* for Provisions.

1609. *John Smith* President.

He sent them Plenty of Bread, Turkey, and Venison; and the next Day, feasted them after his usual Manner. But he pretended, he had not sent for them; neither had he any Corn, and his People much less; and soon began to be importunate with them to be gone. But the President confronting him with the Persons, who brought the Message, he endeavoured to put the Matter off with a Laugh, and asked for his Commodities. But he liked nothing, except Guns and Swords, and valued a Basket of Corn higher than a Basket of Copper; saying, he could rate his Corn, but not the Copper. Captain *Smith*, seeing his Intent, told him; that he had many Ways, to have got Provisions, but relying on his Promises, he had neglected all to satisfy his Desire, and had sent his Men to make his Buildings, whilst his own were undone: That he knew, he had engrossed his People's Corn, and forbid them to trade; thinking, by consuming Time, to consume them: That as for Swords and Guns, he had none to spare; and that he must know, these, he had, could keep him from starving: Yet he would neither rob nor wrong him, nor dissolve that Friendship, they had mutually promised, unless constrained to it by bad Usage. The King listened attentively to this Discourse; and promised, that both he and his People should spare him, what they could, and that they should receive it within two Days. *But*, says he, *I have some Doubt about the Reason of your coming hither. I am informed from many Hands, that you come, not to trade, but to invade my People, and to possess my Country. This makes me less ready to relieve you, and frightens my People from bringing in their Corn. And therefore to ease them of that Fear, leave your Arms aboard, since they are needless here, where we are all Friends, and for ever* Powhatans.

In these, and many such insidious Discourses, that Day was spent. But Captain *Smith* afterwards discovered, that the *Germans*, whom he had sent to build *Powhatan*'s House, finding his Plenty and the Wants of the *English*, and thinking it scarce possible, that they could escape both him and Famine, had, to gain his Favour, revealed to him all, they knew, of the State and Designs of the *English*, and advised him, how to counteract and prevent them. And this Treachery was the more odious and unsuspected, because the President had placed one of them, as a Spy upon *Powhatan*, being a Man of Judgment and Resolution, and therefore thought most proper for that Employ. And as he was sure of his Wages for his Labour, and had ever been well used, both he and his Countrymen, there was at

that

that time little Doubt concerning his Honesty. But whilst they expected the coming in of the Country, they wrangled *Powhatan* out of eighty Bushels of Corn for a Copper Kettle; which the President seeing him much affect, he told him, it was of much greater Value, yet in Regard of his Scarcity, he would accept that Quantity at present, provided he should have as much more the next Year, or the *Monakin* Country. Both being satisfied with the Condition, *Powhatan* began to expostulate the Difference of Peace and War, with Captain *Smith*, after this Manner. 1609. *John Smith* President.

He told him, with a Vanity usual to Persons, who affect to be thought very old, that he had seen the Death of all his People thrice; and that not one of those three Generations was then living, except himself: That he knew the Difference of Peace and War better, than any in his Country: That he was now grown old, and must die soon; and that the Succession must descend, in Order, to his Brothers, *Opitchapan*, *Opechancanough*, and *Catataugh*, and then to his two Sisters, and their two Daughters. He wished their Experience was equal to his; and that *Smith*'s Love to them might be no less, than his to *Smith*. He asked him; Why he would take that by Force, which he might quickly have by Love? Why he would destroy them, that provided him Food? and, What he could get by War? For they could hide their Provisions, and fly into the Woods; and then he must consequently famish by wronging his Friends. He desired to know the Reason of his Jealousy, since he saw them unarmed, and willing to supply his Wants, if he would come in a friendly Manner, and not with Swords and Guns, as to invade an Enemy. And he told him, that he was not so simple, as not to know, it was better to eat good Meat, lie well, and sleep quietly with his Women and Children; to laugh and be merry with the *English*, and being their Friend, to have Copper, Hatchets, and whatever else he wanted; than to fly from all, to lie cold in the Woods, feed upon Acorns, Roots, and such Trash, and to be so hunted, that he could neither rest, eat, or sleep. In that Circumstance, his tired Men must watch, and if a Twig did but break, all would be crying out, *Here comes Captain* Smith; and so, in this miserable Manner, to end his miserable Life; which might likewise soon be Captain *Smith*'s Fate too, through his Rashness and Unadvisedness. He therefore earnestly exhorted him to peaceable Counsels; and above all insisted, that the Guns and Swords, the grand Cause of their Jealousy and Uneasiness, should be removed and sent away.

1609. *John Smith* President.

To this crafty Discourse the President replied: That it was the Fashion of the *English*, always to wear their Arms, like their Cloaths; and that they would, by no Means, part with them: That his People came frequently to *James-Town*, and were entertained with their Bows and Arrows, without any Exceptions: That if the *English* had intended him any Hurt, they could long since have effected it, as was evident to him, and all the World, especially considering the Superiority of their Arms: That altho' Revenge was always in their Power, yet, out of an Inclination to Mercy and Friendship, they passed over the daily Violations of the Peace by his Subjects: And as to hiding his Provisions, and flying into the Woods, he told him, they should not so unadvisedly starve, as he imagined. For they had a Rule to find things hidden, beyond his Knowledge. After much more Discourse, they at last began to trade. But the King, seeing that his Will would not be admitted as a Law, and that *Smith* was obstinate, not to dismiss his Guard, or disarm his Men, breathed out his Mind once more in this Manner, with a Sigh.

Captain Smith, *I never use any Werowance so kindly as yourself; yet from you I receive the least Kindness of any. Captain* Newport *gave me Swords, Copper, Cloaths, or whatever else I desired, ever accepting what I offered him; and would send away his Guns, when requested. No one refuses to lie at my Feet, or do, what I demand, but you only. Of you I can have nothing, but what you value not, and yet you will have, whatsoever you please. Captain* Newport *you call Father, and so you call me; but I see, in spite of us both, you will do, what you will, and we must both study to humour and content you. But if you intend so friendly, as you say, send away your Arms. For you see, my undesigning Simplicity and Friendship cause me, thus nakedly, to forget myself.*

THE President, perceiving this Barbarian only trifled the Time to cut his Throat, resolved to treat him in his own Way. He therefore procured the *Indians* to break the Ice, that his Boat might come, to fetch him and his Corn; and at the same Time, gave Order for more Men to come ashore, to surprise the King. In the mean while, to protract the Time, he endeavoured to entertain him with much specious and fallacious Discourse; promising, the next Day to quit his Arms, and to shew, by trusting to his Word, that he loved and confided in him, as a Father. But whilst the Ice was breaking, *Powhatan* conveyed himself away, with his Women, Children, and Luggage. Yet to avoid Suspicion, he left two or three of his Women talking with the President, whilst he secretly ran off, and his Men as

secretly

secretly beset the House. Which being presently discovered, the President issued forth, with his Pistol, Sword, and Target. At his first Shot, those, next him, tumbled one over another; and the rest fled nimbly off, some one Way, some another. And thus, without any Hurt, only accompanied with Mr. *John Russel*, he reached the main Body of his Men. But when the *Indians* perceived him so well escaped, they used their utmost Art, to excuse and dissemble the Matter. *Powhatan* sent him a great Bracelet and Chain of Pearl by an ancient Orator, who told him, that their Emperor was fled for Fear of his Guns: That knowing, when the Ice was open, there would come more Men ashore, he had sent those Numbers, whom he had assaulted, only to guard his Corn from being stole, which might happen without the President's Knowledge: That altho' some were hurt by his Mistake, yet *Powhatan* was still his Friend, and for ever would continue so. And he desired, since the Ice was open, that he would send away his Corn; and if he expected his Company, that he would also send away his Guns, which so frighted his People, that they were afraid to bring in their Corn, as he had promised they should. And then Baskets being provided for the *English*, to carry their Corn to the Boats, those *Indians* kindly offered their Service, to guard their Arms, lest they should be stolen. There was a great Number of goodly, well-proportioned Fellows, painted and grimmed, like Devils. But the very Sight of the *English* cocking their Matches, and being ready to charge, made them quit their Bows and Arrows, at Command, to the Guard, and carry down the Corn upon their Backs. And there was no Occasion to importune them, to make Dispatch. 1609. *John Smith* President.

BUT *Powhatan* and the *Germans* were still eager to have the Head of Captain *Smith*. For if they could but kill him, they thought, all would be their own. And therefore, the *English* being staid by the Ebb till late within Night, the King spent his Time in making ready his Forces, to surprise the House and him at Supper. But *Pocahontas*, in a very dark and dismal Night, came alone through the Woods, and told the President, that great Cheer would be sent them soon; but that *Powhatan*, with all the Power, he could make, would come after to kill them all, if those, who brought the Victuals, could not effect it with their own Arms, while they were at Supper. And therefore, as they tendered their Lives, she advised them to be gone. The President would have given her such Things, as he knew, she delighted in. But, with Tears running down her Cheeks, she refused them; saying, she durst not be seen to have

1609. *John Smith* President.

have any of them. For ſhould her Father know it, it would be certain and immediate Death to her. And ſo ſhe ran away, by herſelf, as ſhe came. Within leſs than an Hour after, came eight or ten luſty Fellows, with large Platters of Veniſon and other Victuals; and they were very importunate with the *Engliſh*, to put out their Matches; pretending, their Smoke made them ſick. But the Preſident made them taſte of every Diſh; and then ſent ſome of them back to *Powhatan*, to bid him make Haſte; for he was ready for his coming. Soon after came more Meſſengers, to ſee what News; and not long after them, others. And thus was the Time ſpent, with equal Vigilancy on both Sides, but without any farther Hurt. At high Water, the *Engliſh* departed; but to oblige *Powhatan*, they left him, at his Requeſt, *Edward Brynton*, to kill him Fowl, and the *Germans*, who were yet unſuſpected, to finiſh his Houſe.

THEY had no ſooner ſet Sail, but *Powhatan* returned, and ſent two of the *Germans* to *James-Town*. They pretended to Captain *Wynne*, that all things were well, and that the Preſident had Occaſion for their Arms; and therefore they deſired new ones, with ſome ſpare Tools, and ſhift of Apparel; all which were readily granted them. During their loitering there, by the Promiſe of *Powhatan*'s Favour, and of an Exemption from the Miſeries, which would certainly happen to the Colony, they drew over to their Confederacy ſix or ſeven more, ſuch expert Thieves, as preſently furniſhed them with fifty Swords, eight Muſkets, eight Pikes, and Powder and Shot; which were ſpeedily conveyed away, by *Indians* at Hand for that Purpoſe. The other *German Powhatan* kept, as a Pledge; whoſe Diligence provided him with three hundred Tomahauks, or *Indian* Hatchets. In the mean Time, *Edward Brynton* and *Thomas Savage*, ſeeing the *Germans* ſo diligent to accommodate the *Indians* with Arms, attempted to make their Eſcape to *James-Town*. But they were apprehended and brought back, and expected, every Minute, to be put to Death.

The Preſident and the reſt, being arrived at *Pamunkey*, were entertained ſome Days by the King, with great Feaſting and Mirth. The Day, appointed to begin their Trade, he went aſhore with Lieutenant *Percy*, Mr. *Weſt*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, Mr. *Behethland*, Mr. *Croſhaw*, Mr. *Powel*, Mr. *Ford*, and others to the Number of fifteen; and going up to *Opechancanough*'s Houſe, a Quarter of a Mile from the River, they found nothing but a lame Fellow and a Boy, and all the Houſes round abandoned, and ſtripped of every thing. They ſtaid not long, before the King came, and

after

after him several of his People, loaded with Bows and Arrows. But their Commodities were so trifling, and those held at such a Rate, that the President began with the King, and said: That the Professions of his Tongue were proved by his Actions to be mere Deceit: That last Year he kindly freighted his Vessel; but had how treacherously invited him, with a View to famish and destroy him: That as the King was not ignorant of his Wants, so neither was he of the King's Plenty; of which, by some Means, he must have Part. And he told him, it was highly proper and decent for Kings, above all others, to keep their Promise. And therefore, shewing his Commodities, he offered him his Choice, and the rest, he said, he would proportion in fit Bargains for his People. *Opechancanough* seemed kindly to accept his Offer; and the better to colour his Designs, sold them, what they had, at their own Price; promising, the next Day, more Company, better provided. 1609. *John Smith* President.

THE next Day, the President, with the same fifteen, marched up to the King's House, where they found four or five Men, newly arrived, with each a great Basket. Soon after came the King; and putting on a strained Chearfulness, he entertained them in Discourse, about the great Pains he had been taking, to keep his Promise; till Mr. *Russel* brought in News, that at least seven hundred *Indians*, well armed, had invironed the House, and beset the Fields. The President, seeing some of the Company greatly dismaid at the Thought of such a Multitude, told them: That he was less concerned at the Danger and Number of the Enemy, than at the malicious Representations, which the Council, and their open-mouthed Minions, would make to *England*, of his breaking the Peace: That he, alone, was once assaulted by three hundred; and had it not been for an Accident, would have made his Way good among them all: That they were now sixteen, and the Enemy but seven hundred at the most. And therefore he desired them, to fight like Men, and not die like Sheep. For if they dared to follow his Example, and to do, as he did, he doubted not, by God's Assistance, to extricate them out of the present Difficulty and Danger. The Time not permitting any Argument, they all chearfully vowed, to execute, whatever he attempted, or die. But that they might not fight for nothing, or be even ruined and starved by their Victory, the President told *Opechancanough*: That he saw his Plot to murder him, but he feared it not: That their Men had done no Harm, but by their Directions: That therefore, if each of his Men would bring a Basket of Corn, he would stake against it the Value in Copper, and

1609. and they two would go over into the Iſland, in the River, againſt that Place, and decide the Matter by ſingle Combat: *John Smith President.* That he ſhould have his Choice, and all Advantage of Weapons: and, That the Conqueror ſhould have all, and be Lord and Maſter over all their Men.

BUT duelling in fair and open Field is not the Manner of the *Indians*. Their chief Valour conſiſts in way-laying and murdering the unſuſpecting and unprovided, or perhaps the weak and helpleſs. Neither had *Opechancanough* ſuch Regard for the Lives of his Subjects, as to ſave them from Danger, at the Hazard of his own. He therefore kindly endeavoured to appeaſe the Preſident's Anger and Suſpicion, by a Preſent at the Door, which he intreated him to accept. This was only to draw him out, where the Bait was guarded with two hundred Men, beſides thirty, which lay behind a great Tree, fallen acroſs, with each his Arrow notched, ready to ſhoot. But the Preſident, having diſcovered the Treachery, ſeiſed the King, in the Midſt of his Men, by his long Lock of Hair, and preſented his Piſtol, ready cocked, to his Breaſt. Thus he led him, trembling and half dead with Fear, among his People; who were eaſily induced to throw down their Arms, and to deliver the King's Vambrace, Bow, and Arrows; little dreaming, that any one durſt to uſe their King in that Manner. And now *Opechancanough*, to reſcue himſelf, beſtowed his Preſents in ſerious Sadneſs; and his Subjects, being upbraided and threatened by the Preſident in a ſmart and angry Speech, mixed with ſome Expreſſions of Love and Confidence, caſt away their Bows and Arrows, and Men, Women, and Children, brought in their Commodities. For two or three Hours, they ſo thronged and wearied him, that he retired into the Houſe to reſt, leaving others to trade, and receive their Preſents. Whilſt he was aſleep, fifty of their choice Men, with each an *Engliſh* Sword or Club in his Hand, and ſeconded by two or three hundred more, preſſed into the Houſe to murder him. But the Preſident, being waked from his Sleep, by the Noiſe of the People and ſhaking of the Houſe, betook himſelf to his Arms, together with Mr. *Croſhaw* and ſome others; which ſoon made them throng back, faſter than they came. But *Opechancanough* and ſome of his Ancients, who were kept Priſoners with him, endeavoured, in a long Oration, to excuſe this Intruſion. The reſt of the Day was ſpent with much Kindneſs, the *Indians* renewing their Preſents, and feaſting the *Engliſh* with their beſt Proviſions.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting, there happened an unlucky Accident at the Fort. Mr. *Scrivener* had received

ceived Letters from *England*, which gave him towering Thoughts, and made him decline entirely in his Affection and Friendſhip to Captain *Smith*, who ſtill regarded and loved him, as his Brother. This made him more headſtrong and conceited, than was naturally conſiſtent with his Prudence and Moderation. And having taken it into his Head to viſit *Hog-Iſland*, he could not be turned from it, by the Advice and repeated Entreaties of Captain *Waldo* and ſeveral others. Therefore, taking with him Captain *Waldo*, who was not to be abſent from the Fort, but to be ready to ſecond the Preſident, if called for, and Mr. *Anthony Goſnold*, a very worthy, honeſt, and induſtrious Gentleman, and Brother to Captain *Bartholomew Goſnold*, with eight others, he went into the Skiff. She was ſo overloaded, that ſhe ſcarce could have lived in calm Weather; but, in that cold and boiſterous Day, ſhe ſunk, none knowing how or where, and all aboard were drowned. To advertiſe the Preſident of this heavy News, none could be got, till Mr. *Richard Wyffin* undertook it alone. He was encountered with many Dangers and Difficulties, in all Places, as he paſſed. And at *Werowocomoco*, not finding the Preſident, and perceiving ſuch Preparations for War, he was certainly aſſured, that ſome Miſchief was intended. But *Pocahontas* hid him for a Time, and ſent thoſe, who purſued him, the quite contrary Way. At length, by her Means and extraordinary Bribes and Trouble, in three Days Travel, he found the Preſident at *Pamunkey*, in the Midſt of thoſe Broils and Difficulties. The Preſident, having ſworn him to conceal this unhappy News from the Company, and diſſembling his Sorrow with the beſt Countenance, he could, went ſafely aboard at Night, and left *Opechancanough* at Liberty, according to his Promiſe, and likewiſe with a Deſign, the better to entrap *Powhatan* in his Return. Soon after, he went down the River, having ſearched the Countries of *Youghtanund* (now *Pamunkey* River) and *Mattapony*; where the poor Creatures imparted the little Corn, they had, with ſuch Complaints, and Tears from the Eyes of Women and Children, as fully ſatisfied, and moved them with Compaſſion.

1609. *John Smith* Preſident.

Powhatan had threatened Death to his Men, if they did not, by ſome Means or other, kill Captain *Smith*. But they hated fighting with him, almoſt as bad as hanging. And the Preſident, on his Side, was as eager, to ſurpriſe and take that ſubtle and perfidious Barbarian. Therefore, in his Way down the River, there were many Feints and Strategems, on both Parts, but without any remarkabl Effect. Only the Preſident, with Mr. *Weſt* and ſome others, would

1609. would have been poiſoned, had their Art been equal to their Will. It only made them Sick, and ſo worked itſelf off. And thus, through many Dangers and Difficulties, they returned to *James-Town*; where they delivered, near 200 *lbs.* of Deer's Suet, and 479 Buſhels of Corn, to the Cape-Merchant.

John Smith Preſident.

AT *James-Town* they found nothing done, but their Proviſions ſpent, and a great Part of their Tools and Arms conveyed to the *Indians*. But altho' what was left by the Ship was ſo rotten with the Rain, and ſo mangled by the Rats and Worms, that the Hogs would ſcarcely eat it, yet upon caſting up their Store, they found a ſufficient Proviſion for the Year. Wherefore, the Fear of ſtarving being laid aſide, the Company was ranged into proper Diviſions, and ſix Hours each Day ſpent in Work, the reſt in Paſtime and merry Exerciſes. And the Preſident, having called them together, told them: That their late Experience and Miſery were ſufficient to perſuade every one to a preſent Amendment: That they muſt not think, that either his Pains, or the Adventurers Purſes, would for ever maintain them in Sloth and Idleneſs: That he knew, many deſerved more Honour, and a better Reward, than was yet to be had; but that far the greateſt Part of them muſt be more induſtrious, or ſtarve: That it was not reaſonable, that the Labours of thirty or forty honeſt and induſtrious Men ſhould be conſumed, to maintain an hundred and fifty Loiterers: and, That therefore every one, that would not work, ſhould not eat: That they had often been ſcreened and protected, in their Diſobedience to his juſt and neceſſary Commands, by the Authority of the Council: But that now, all being either dead or gone, except Captain *Wynne* and himſelf, that whole Power reſted, in Effect, ſolely in him. And therefore, he adviſed them, not to feed themſelves up with the vain Preſumption, that his Authority was but a Shadow, and that his Life muſt anſwer for theirs. For the Letters Patent, and other Powers, would prove the contrary, and ſhould, every Week, be read to them; and every one, that offended, might aſſuredly expect his due Puniſhment. He alſo made a Table, as a publick Memorial of each Man's Deſerts, to encourage the Good, and to ſpur on the reſt by Shame. By this, many became very induſtrious; but more were driven to their Buſineſs, by Puniſhment, and the Preſident's extraordinary Vigor and Diligence.

AS they came down *Pamunkey* (ſince called *York* River) off of *Werowocomoco*, the Preſident had ſent Mr. *Chroſhaw* and Mr. *Ford* to *James-Town*, by Land. In their Way, they

1609.

John Smith President.

they met four or five of the *German*'s Confederates, going to *Powhatan*; who to clear themſelves from thoſe Gentlemens Suſpicion, that they were running to the *Indians*, returned with them to the Fort, and there continued. But the *Germans*, to know the Reaſon of their Stay, ſent one of their Company, a ſtout young Fellow, diſguiſed like an *Indian*, to the Glaſs-houſe. This ſtood in the Woods, about a Mile from *James-Town*, and was the common Place of Rendezvous for all their ſecret Villany. The Preſident, hearing of this, immediately ſent to apprehend this *German*. But he being gone, he diſpatched twenty good Shot after, to intercept him in his Return to *Powhatan*. They ſoon brought him back, and notwithſtanding his fair Tale and plauſible Excuſes, he was thrown into Priſon. However the Preſident ſpared his Life, hoping thereby to regain his Countrymen.

CAPTAIN *Smith*, having ſent all his Men after the *German*, returned from the Glaſs-houſe alone, armed only with a Faucheon. In his Way he met the King of *Paſpahey*, a Man of great Strength and gigantic Stature. At firſt, he endeavoured to draw the Preſident into his Ambuſcade; but failing in that, he attempted to ſhoot him. But *Smith*, to prevent it, cloſed in and grappled with him. And the *Indian*, by mere Dint of Strength, bore him into the River, with a Deſign to drown him. Long they ſtruggled in the Water, till the Preſident got ſuch Hold of his Throat, that he almoſt ſtrangled him. And then, having diſengaged himſelf, ſo as to draw his Faucheon, the poor Savage begged his Life, in ſuch a pitiful Manner, that he led him to *James-Town*, and put him into Chains; where he continued for ſome time, till by the Negligence of his Keepers, he eſcaped. Some Endeavours were uſed to retake him, but without Effect; only the Preſident took two *Indians* Priſoners, *Kemps* and *Tuſſore*, the two moſt exquiſite Villains in all the Country. Theſe Men would have betrayed both King and Kindred for a Piece of Copper; and had Captain *Wynne* and Lieutenant *Percy*, who were ſent upon the Buſineſs with fifty Men, followed their Directions, they would certainly have regained the King, and been fully revenged for the Injury and Aſſault. However, that this might not encourage them to farther Boldneſs, they attacked and ſlew ſeveral of the Nation, burnt their Houſes, took their Canoes and fiſhing Weirs, and planted ſome of them at *James-Town*, and were reſolved to proſecute them with War, till they were fully humbled and ſubdued.

1609. NOT long after, the Prefident, paſſing by *Paſpahey* in his Way to *Chickahominy*, was aſſaulted by them. But as ſoon as they knew him, they all threw down their Arms, and ſued for Peace. Their ſpokeſman was a luſty young Fellow, named *Okaning*, whoſe Diſcourſe well deſerves to be remembered. He told the Preſident, that the King, his Maſter, was there preſent in the Company: That they took him for Captain *Wynne*, who purſued them in War, altho' they had never injured him: That if the King offended him in eſcaping from Priſon, he ought to conſider, that the Fiſhes ſwim, the Fowls fly, and the very Beaſts ſtrive to eſcape the Snare and live: That therefore, his Maſter, who was a Man, ought not to be blamed, for following this neceſſary Inſtinct of Nature even in brute Animals. He reminded him of the Pains, his Maſter took, to ſave his Life, when a Priſoner; and if he had ſince injured him, he was compelled to it, and it had however been already fully revenged, to their too great Loſs. And he further told him, if he ſtill perſiſted in his Reſolution to deſtroy them, they muſt abandon their Habitation, and ſettle ſomewhere beyond his Reach; which would only coſt them more Labour, but would be of worſe Conſequence to the *Engliſh*, who could not well ſubſiſt without their Corn and Fruits. And therefore he earneſtly entreated him to grant them his Friendſhip, and to permit them to enjoy their Houſes, and plant their Fields, in Peace and Security. Concluding, that if he would promiſe them Peace, they would truſt to his Word; but if he proceeded in his Revenge, they would quit the Country. Whereupon the Preſident promiſed them Peace, if they would do no farther Injury, and would bring in Proviſions to the Fort. To which they joyfully agreed, and parted good Friends, and ſo continued, till *Smith* left the Country.

John Smith Preſident.

SOON after this, an *Indian*, who had been impriſoned at *James-Town* for Theft, had ſo ſtifled himſelf, by a Charcoal Fire in a cloſe Room of the Priſon, that he ſeemed to be dead. But the Preſident, by the Application of Vinegar and *Aqua-vitæ*, brought him to himſelf; which was ſoon ſpread abroad among the *Indians*, throughout the whole Country, as a Miracle; and it was generally believed, that Captain *Smith* could raiſe a dead Man to Life. And another at *Werowocomoco*, having got a large Bag of Powder, to ſhew his extraordinary Skill among his Companions, dried it on the Back of an Armour, as he had ſeen the Soldiers at *James-Town* do. Many ſtood peeping over, to ſee his Skill; till at laſt it took Fire, and blew him, with one or two more, to Death, and ſo ſcorched and mangled the reſt, that

that it raiſed a vaſt Dread and Aſtoniſhment in them, and a great Admiration of the Power and Art of the *Engliſh*. Theſe, with ſome other Accidents, ſo frighted and amazed *Powhatan* and his People, that they flocked from all Parts, and with Preſents deſired Peace; returning many ſtolen Things, which had never been demanded, or thought of, by the *Engliſh*. And ever after, during the Remainder of Capt. *Smith*'s Adminiſtration, both *Powhatan* and his People would ſend back to *James-Town* ſuch, as had been taken ſtealing, to receive their Puniſhment; and the whole Country became as abſolutely free and ſafe to the *Engliſh*, as to themſelves. 1609. *John Smith* Preſident.

AND now the Colony purſued their Buſineſs with Alacrity and Succeſs. They made three or four Laſt of Tar, Pitch, and Soap-Aſhes; produced a Trial of Glaſs; ſunk a Well in the Fort, of excellent Water, which till then was wanting; built about twenty Houſes; new-covered the Church; provided Nets and Weirs for fiſhing; and to ſtop the Diſorders of the Thieves and *Indians*, they built a Block-houſe in the Neck of the Iſland, to receive the Trade of the *Indians*; and none, neither *Indian* nor Chriſtian, was ſuffered to paſs or repaſs, without the Preſident's Order. Thirty or forty Acres of Ground were broke up and planted. Of three Sows, in eighteen Months, increaſed ſixty odd Pigs; and near five hundred Chickens brought up themſelves, without having any thing given them. But the Hogs were tranſported to Hog-Iſland; where alſo was built a Block-houſe, with a Garriſon, to give Notice of any Ships; and for their Exerciſe at leiſure Times, they made Clapboard and Wainſcot. In this Time, died Captain *Wynne*; ſo that the Government devolved wholly upon the Preſident, as it had before in Effect done, by his having two Voices in the Council.

BUT this Flow of Plenty and Proſperity laſted not long. For, upon Examination, they found half their Corn rotten, and the reſt conſumed by Rats; which, coming originally from the Ships, had increaſed to incredible Multitudes. So that all Works were intermitted, and the People ſufficiently employed to get Proviſions. But at firſt, the *Indians*, to expreſs their Love, brought in an hundred a Day, at leaſt, of Squirrels, Turkies, Deer, and other wild Beaſts; and *Powhatan* ſpared them near half his Stock of Corn. But the Preſident was nevertheleſs obliged to detach ſixty or eighty down the River, to live upon Oyſters. Twenty were ſent to the Falls with Mr. *Weſt*; and as many more with Lieutenant *Percy* to *Point Comfort*, to try for a Fiſhery. But he being very ſick, and ſorely burnt with Gun-powder, they would not agree in ſix Weeks, once to caſt out their

1609. *John Smith* President.

Net. Many were billetted among the *Indians*, who knew, that they had such a commanding Power at *James-Town*, that they durst not wrong them in the least. And in all this Time of Distress, they caught more Sturgeon than could be devoured by Man and Dog. This the industrious, drying and pounding, would mingle with Caviare, Sorrel, and wholesome Herbs, and make Bread and good Meat. Others would gather as much Tuckahoe Root in a Day, as would make them Bread for a Week. So that, upon these wild Products, and what they caught, the diligent lived very well and plentifully.

YET such was the insufferable Sloth and unreasonable Perverseness of far the greater Number, that they would sooner have perished, than have been at the Pains to gather Food. And they were even importunate with the President, to sell their Tools and Iron, nay, their Swords and Firelocks, and their very Houses and Ordinance, to the *Indians* for this Trash. And they took Occasion from hence, in a very turbulent and clamorous Manner, to insist on the Necessity of leaving the Country. But the President, having punished one of the worst and most seditious among them, called the rest together, and represented to them the extreme Folly and Iniquity of their Proceedings. And he told them, that if any more were found attempting to run away to *Newfoundland* with the Bark, they might assuredly expect the Gallows, as their Fate: That he never had more from the Store than the worst of them; for they well knew and saw, that his extraordinary Allowance, as President, was constantly distributed among the Sick: and, That since he found, Necessity had not Power to force them to gather the Fruits of the Earth, he was resolved, that they should gather, not only for themselves, but also for the Sick; and that whosoever would not gather, every Day, as much, as he himself did, should, the next Day, be set beyond the River, and banished from the Fort, as a Drone. This Order raised a great Clamour and Outcry; but it made most of them bestir themselves so well, that they had Plenty of Food to eat, and continued very healthy and strong. Yet many of them, understanding, how well they were used, that were billetted among the *Indians*, ran away to *Kemps* and *Tassore*, their old Prisoners. But *Kemps* first made himself Sport with them, shewing his Countrymen, how he was used, when a Prisoner, and feeding them upon this Condition, that they, who would not work, should not eat; and then he carried them back, by Force, to the President.

THIS deterred many others, who intended to follow; and made them content, rather to labour at home, than venture among

among the *Indians*. For the Kings, and better Sort of that People, were so afraid, or so friendly, that when the *Englisſh* punished some of their baser Sort with great Severity, they would hire them, not to tell it to their Kings or Countrymen; lest they should punish them again, and send them to *James-Town*, to give full Satisfaction to the President. 1609. *John Smith* President.

ABOUT this time, Mr. *Sicklemore* returned from *Chawonock*; but without any Information of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s lost Company, or satisfactory Account of the Silk-grass. And the President, to pursue a Point, thought so necessary by the Council in *England*, sent off Mr. *Nathaniel Powel* and *Anas Todkill*, to the *Mangoags*, a Nation of *Indians*, not subject to *Powhatan*, dwelling on the upper Branches of *Nottoway*, or some small Streams of *Roanoke* River. He obtained Guides from the King of the *Quiyoughquohanocks*, a small Nation of *Indians*, seated on the *South* Side of *James* River, about ten Miles above *James-Town*. This good King did ever affect the *Englisſh* above all others; and altho' he was very zealous to his false Gods, yet he confessed, that the *Englisſh* God as much exceeded his, as their Guns did his Bow and Arrows; and in Time of Drought, he would often send Presents to Captain *Smith*, to pray to his God for Rain. His Guides conducted *Powel* and *Todkill*, three Days Journey, into a high Country, towards the *South-West*; where they saw, here and there, a Corn-field, by some little Spring or small Brook, but no large River. The People were, in all Respects, like the rest, except their Language. They lived chiefly by hunting, and on Fruits and Roots; and they trafficked their Skins with those towards the Sea and fatter Countries, for dried Fish and Corn. But neither did they here, or ever after, hear any thing of this Colony, left by Mr. *White*, in the Year 1587, on one of the Islands of *Hatteras*.

ALL this while, they employed one *William Volday*, a *Zwitzer*, by Promises and Pardons to reclaim his Countrymen, the *Germans*, and one *Bentley*, another Fugitive. But this vile Hypocrite, pretending highly to detest their Villany, hereby got an Opportunity, to convey them every thing, they wanted, to effect their Projects, and destroy the Colony. With much Devotion they looked for the *Spaniard*, to whom they were willing and intended to do good Service. And finding, the *Englisſh* were obliged to disperse themselves to gather Food, they importuned *Powhatan* to lend them his Forces; and they undertook, not only to destroy the Hogs, fire the Town, and seize on the Bark, but to bring most of the Colony to his Service and Subjection. This Scheme was communicated to many of their Confederates at the Fort; but two, whose Hearts re-

1609. *John Smith* President.

lented at the Horror of the Act, revealed it to the President. He ordered them to keep it ſtill a Secret, and to draw them into ſuch Ambuſcades, as he had prepared. But the thing taking Air, and coming to the Ears of the impatient Multitude, they were outrageous to go and deſtroy them immediately. Lieutenant *Percy* and Mr. *John Codrington*, two Gentlemen of high and reſolute Spirits, offered their Service, to go to *Werowocomoco*, and to cut their Throats before the Face of *Powhatan*. But the Preſident cared not to hazard ſuch Perſons, for whom he had other Employment; and gave Way to Mr. *Wyffin* and Serjeant *Jeffery Abbot*, to undertake the Matter. But the *Germans* ſo blinded *Abbot*, with a fair Tale, that he relented; and *Wyffin*, tho' willing, cared not to attempt it alone. When *Powhatan* underſtood their Buſineſs, he ſent immediately to the Preſident, to inform him, that he neither detained them, nor hindered his Men from executing his Command. For he neither did, nor would, maintain them, or any other, to his Diſpleaſure. But altho' theſe treacherous Foreigners did all, they could, to raiſe and incenſe *Powhatan* and the *Indians* againſt the *Engliſh*, yet ſuch exact Intelligence had Captain *Smith* of their Plots, that their Machinations were his greateſt Advantage and Security. And if any Commotion had happened, he always had it in his Power to take Revenge. For all the Country now ſtood more in Fear of him, than of *Powhatan*; and he had ſuch Parties among the bordering Nations, that, out of Love or Fear, they would have done any thing, he commanded. However, not long after, one of the *Germans* returned to his Duty; but the other ſtill remained with *Powhatan*.

WHILST theſe things were paſſing, Captain *Samuel Argall* arrived, who was afterwards an active Perſon here, and a noted Governor of the Country. He came to truck with the Colony, and to fiſh for Sturgeon, with a Ship well furniſhed with Wine and other good Proviſion. This was, at that Time, a prohibited Trade; but he being a Kinſman to Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Treaſurer, it was connived at and overlooked. The Neceſſities of the Colony obliged them to take his Proviſions, by which his Voyage was loſt; but they revictualled him, when their next Supply arrived, and ſent him to *England* with a full Account of the State of their Affairs. By this Ship, they received Letters, which taxed the Preſident for his hard Uſage of the Natives, and for not returning the Ships freighted. And now alſo, they firſt had an Account of the Alterations in *England*, and of the great Preparations and large Supply, to be ſent by the Lord *Delaware*, appointed Captain-General and Governor in Chief of *Virginia*.

THE

THE HISTORY OF *VIRGINIA.*

BOOK III.

THE Treasurer, Council, and Company in *England*, were still intent upon present Gain, and gaping after the Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru* from their Discovery; and upon the last Voyage, not finding that Profit and Return, they expected, they were much disappointed and enraged. To this was added *Newport*'s Account of things, which was certainly not very favourable to their Conduct and Management in *Virginia*. The Company therefore made Interest to his Majesty, to grant them a new Charter, which bears Date the 23d of *May* 1609, and contains larger Powers and more ample Privileges, than the former; as may be seen in the Original, printed at large in the Appendix. By this Charter the Power and Authority of the President and Council in *Virginia* were expresly abrogated; and they were streightly commanded, upon their Allegiance, to pay Obedience to such Governor or Governors, as should be appointed by the Council in *England*. In Consequence of which Power, the Council constituted Sir *Thomas West*, Lord *Delawarr*, Captain-General of *Virginia*; Sir *Thomas Gates*, his Lieutenant-General; Sir *George Somers*, Admiral; Captain *Newport*, Vice-Admiral; Sir *Thomas Dale*, High-Marshal; Sir *Ferdinando Wainman*, General of the Horse; and so, many other Offices, to several worthy Gentlemen, for their Lives.

1609. *John Smith* President.

1609. THIS new Charter was granted to the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, *Southampton*, *Pembroke*, and other Peers, to the Number of twenty one; to the Honourable *George Percy* and *Francis Weſt*, Eſqrs; to Sir *Humphrey Weld*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and ninety eight other Knights, expreſly named; and to Dr. *Matthew Sutcliffe*, with a great Multitude more, of Doctors, Eſquires, Gentlemen, Officers, Merchants, and Citizens, together with many Corporations and Companies of *London*. So many Perſons of great Power, Intereſt, and Fortune, engaging in the Enterprize, and the Lord *Delawarr*, with the other Gentlemen of Diſtinction, appointed to the ſeveral Offices, ſoon drew in ſuch large Sums of Money, that they diſpatched away Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, and Captain *Newport*, with nine Ships, and five hundred People. Theſe three Gentlemen had, each of them, a Commiſſion, who firſt arrived, to call in the old. But becauſe they could not agree for Place, it was concluded, that they ſhould all go in one Ship, called the *Sea-Venture*. They ſailed from *England*, the latter End of *May* 1609; but the 25th of *July*, the Admiral-Ship was parted from the reſt of the Fleet, by the Tail of a Hurricane, having on board the three Commanders, an hundred and fifty Men, their new Commiſſion, and Bills of Lading, together with all Manner of Inſtructions and Directions, and the beſt Part of their Proviſions. She arrived not, but was foundered on *Bermudas*, as ſhall be hereafter related. A ſmall Catch likewiſe periſhed in the Hurricane; but the ſeven other Ships came ſafe. In them, as Captains, came *Ratcliffe* (whoſe right Name, as is ſaid, was *Sicklemore*) *Martin*, and *Archer*, with Captain *Wood*, Captain *Webbe*, Captain *Moon*, Captain *King*, Captain *Davies*, Mr. *Ralph Hamer*, and divers other Gentlemen, of good Fortune, and eminent Birth. The Preſident, being informed by his Scouts of the Arrival of this Fleet, little dreamed of ſuch a Supply, but ſuppoſed them, at firſt, to be *Spaniards*. He therefore put himſelf into the beſt Poſture of Defence, he could; and being ſeconded by the *Indians* (who, upon this Occaſion, ſhewed their Friendſhip, and prepared, with great Alacrity, to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* with their utmoſt Power) they thought themſelves ſo well provided for the Reception of an Enemy, that they little feared their Coming.

John Smith Preſident.

Ratcliffe, *Martin*, and *Archer*, had bred much Diſturbance at Sea, and had paved the Way, for being even more troubleſome aſhore. For they had infuſed ſuch Jealouſies and Prejudices into the Company againſt Captain *Smith*, that they mortally hated him, before they had ever ſeen him.

him. But ſeveral of better Senſe and Experience among them, from their firſt Landing, hearing the general good Report of his old Soldiers, and ſeeing the Prudence and Uprightneſs of his Actions, were ſoon undeceived, and ſaw into the Malice of *Ratcliffe* and his Faction. They therefore left their Society, and ever adhered to Captain *Smith*, as his firm and faithful Friends. But a great Part of this new Company conſiſted of unruly Sparks, packed off by their Friends, to eſcape worſe Deſtinies at home. And the reſt were chiefly made up of poor Gentlemen, broken Tradeſmen, Rakes and Libertines, Footmen, and ſuch others, as were much fitter to ſpoil or ruin a Commonwealth, than to help to raiſe or maintain one. This lewd Company therefore were led by their ſeditious Captains, into many Miſchiefs and Extravagancies. They aſſumed to themſelves the Power of diſpoſing of the Government; and conferred it ſometimes on one, and ſometimes on another. To-day, the old Commiſſion muſt rule; To-morrow, the new; and next Day, neither. So that, all was Anarchy and Diſtraction; neither were there any Hopes, from the preſent Poſture of Affairs, but of the utmoſt Miſery and Confuſion. 1609. *John Smith* Preſident.

THE *German* alſo, that had returned to the *Engliſh*, ſeeing this diſtracted State of things, and hoping for ſome Advantage from it, fled again, with one of his Conſorts, to *Powhatan*; to whom he promiſed Wonders, at the Arrival of Lord *Delawarr*. But that ſenſible Barbarian, knowing the Wickedneſs and Perfidy of their Nature, replied; That they, who would have betrayed Captain *Smith* to him, would certainly betray him to this great Lord, to make their Peace. And ſo, he ordered his Men, to beat out their Brains. But *Voldaz*, the *Zwitzer*, made a ſhift to get to *England*; where purſuading the Merchants, what rich Mines he had found, and what Services he would do them, he was well rewarded, and ſent back with the Lord *Delawarr*. But being found a mere Impoſtor, he died in a moſt contemned and miſerable Manner.

CAPTAIN *Smith*, all this Time of Turbulency and Diſtraction, was ſadly troubled and perplexed, how to proceed. At firſt, finding his Authority thus unexpectedly cancelled and changed, he reſolved to leave all, and return for *England*. But afterwards, ſeeing, there was little Hope of the Arrival of this new Commiſſion, and that his own was not legally ſuperſeded, but by the actual Production of another, he determined to bear up, and to act with Vigor and Reſolution. He therefore ſet himſelf, with great Courage, and the perpetual Hazard of his Life, to oppoſe this

1609.

rent of Faction and Immorality; and at last, so far mastered it, that he cast *Ratcliffe*, *Archer*, and the other Chiefs, into Prison, till he had more Leisure, to bring them to a fair and legal Trial. And the better to dissipate the Humours, and to break their Confederacies, he sent Mr. *West*, with an hundred and twenty, the best, he could chuse, to make a Settlement at the Falls; and *Martin*, with near the same Number, to *Nansamond*; allowing each their due Proportion of all the Provisions, according to their Number. And now the Year of his Presidency being near expired, he made Captain *Martin*, who was become more tractable, President in his Room. But *Martin*, knowing his own Insufficiency, and the People's Unrulinesss and little Regard for him, within three Hours, resigned it again to Captain *Smith*. For as *Ratcliffe* had been removed from the Council, and was not again restored, *Martin* and *Smith* were the only two then in the Country, that could either elect, or be elected President. And *Martin*, having thus wisely disengaged himself from an Office, which he was then no ways able to execute or support, proceeded to make his Settlement at *Nansamond*. That Nation, having been reduced to Subjection and Contribution, used him kindly; yet such were his unreasonable Jealousy and Fear, that he surprised the poor naked King, and his Monuments and Houses, with the Island, wherein he lived, and there fortified himself. But the *Indians*, soon perceiving his Fear and Distraction, ventured to assault him; and they killed several of his Men, released their King, and gathered and carried off a thousand Bushels of Corn; whilst he, in the mean while, never once offered to intercept them, but sent to the President, then at the Falls, for thirty Soldiers. These were presently sent him, from *James-Town*. But he so employed them, that they did nothing, and soon returned, complaining of his Tenderness and Cowardice. And he likewise, leaving his Company to their Fortunes, came away with them to *James-Town*.

John Smith President.

THE President followed the other Company up to the Falls, to see them well seated. But he was surprised, in his Way, to meet Captain *West*, so soon returning to *James-Town*; and he found the Settlement very inconsiderately made, in a Place, not only liable to the River's Inundation, but also subject to many other intolerable Inconveniences. To remedy which, he immediately sent to *Powhatan*, to purchase the Place, called *Powhatan*. The Conditions of their Agreement were these: That the *English* should defend him against the *Manakins*: That he should resign to them the Fort and the Houses, with all that Country, for a

Pro-

Proportion of Copper: That all Thieves ſhould be ſent thither, to receive their Puniſhment: That every Houſe, as a Cuſtom, ſhould pay the Preſident a Buſhel of Corn, for an Inch ſquare of Copper, and a certain Quantity of Pocones to King *James*, for their Protection: and, That they ſhould barter, what elſe they could ſpare, at their beſt Diſcretion. But Captain *Weſt*'s Company depended ſo much on the Lord General's new Commiſſion, that they regarded no Perſon or thing. And ſuppoſing, the *Manakins*' Country reached to the *South-Sea*, and was all Gold, they pleaſed themſelves with the vain Conceit, that it was entirely under their Power and Command, and that none ſhould go thither, but whom they pleaſed. They therefore rejected the Preſident with Inſolence and Contempt. However he ventured, with five Men, to land among them; and committed the Heads of the Mutiny to Priſon, till, by their Numbers, they obliged him to retire. In making off, he happily ſurpriſed one of their Boats, with which he returned to the Ship; and had not the Mariners proved very tractable and faithful to him, he had ſmall Means and little Probability of eſcaping their Fury. 1609. *John Smith* Preſident.

THE *Indians* alſo came to him; complaining, that he had brought them, for Protectors, worſe Enemies, than the *Manakins* themſelves; that they ſtole their Corn, robbed their Gardens, broke open their Houſes, beat them, and kept ſeveral in Priſon; and that, till then, they had borne all this, out of Love to him, but deſired Pardon, if hereafter they defended themſelves. They likewiſe offered him their Aſſiſtance, and to fight for him againſt them, if he would lead them on. But having ſpent nine Days, to no Purpoſe, in endeavouring to reclaim them, he departed for *James-Town*. The Ship was no ſooner under Sail, but twelve *Indians* aſſaulted thoſe hundred and twenty in their Fort. And finding many ſtraggling abroad in the Woods, they killed ſome, and ſo frighted the reſt, that their Countrymen in Priſon eſcaped, and they went ſafely off, with the Swords and Cloaks of thoſe, they had ſlain. But before the Ship had ſailed half a League, ſhe grounded; which gave the Preſident an Opportunity of ſummoning them, once more, to a Parley. And now he found them ſo amazed with that ſilly Aſſault of the *Indians*, that they ſurrendered themſelves, upon any Terms, to his Mercy. He therefore laid ſix or ſeven of the chief Offenders by the Heels; and ſeated the reſt at *Powhatan*, the ſtrongeſt and moſt pleaſant Place, he had ſeen in the Country; and for that Reaſon, they called it *Nonſuch*. Here they had dry Houſes for Lodgings, near two hundred Acres of Land, cleared

1609. cleared and ready for planting, with a Savage Fort, ready built, and prettily fortified with Poles and Barks of Trees, and sufficient to have defended them against all the *Indians* in the Country. He likewise appeased the *Indians*, making Restitution and Satisfaction, to each Party, for their former Losses and Damages.

John Smith President.

AND now, new Officers being appointed, and the President ready to depart, just at that Instant arrived Captain *West*; whose gentle Nature was so wrought on and abused, by Compassion for the Prisoners, and the Persuasions of the Mutineers, who alledged, they had only done this for his Honour, that all things were again thrown into Confusion and Mutiny. But the President, having no Inclination to contend with Mr. *West*, and little Power to curb their Insolence, left them to their Fortunes, and returned to *James-Town*. And soon after they abandoned *Nonsuch*, and went back to their first Settlement at *West*'s-*Fort*.

BUT passing down the River, as Captain *Smith* was asleep in the Boat, his Powder-bag, by some Accident, was fired; which tore the Flesh from his Body and Thighs, nine or ten Inches square, in a most dreadful Manner. To quench the Fire, which fryed and tormented him in his Cloaths, he leaped overboard, and was almost drowned, before they could recover him. In this piteous State, he arrived at *James-Town*; where *Ratcliffe*, *Archer*, and the rest of their Confederates, were soon to come to their Trials. But their guilty Consciences misgiving them, and seeing the President unable to stand, and almost bereft of his Senses by reason of his Torment, they entered into a Conspiracy to murder him in his Bed. But his Heart failed him, who was to have given Fire to the Pistol. And so, being disappointed in this Purpose, they joined together, to usurp the Government, and thereby escape their Punishment. In the mean time, the President's old Soldiers, being provoked, beyond all Patience, at their Malice and Sedition, flocked to him, and importuned him to give them but the Word, and they would fetch the Heads of the boldest among them, that durst resist his Commands. Yet he would not suffer them to bring the Matter to a civil Broil; but sent immediately for the Masters of the Ships, and took Order with them for his Return to *England*. For there was neither Chirurgeon nor Chirurgery at the Fort; and his Wounds were so grievous, and Torments so cruel, that few expected, he could live. And he likewise highly resented, and was much chagrined, to see his Authority suppressed, he knew not why; himself and his Soldiers to be rewarded for their past Labours and Dangers, he knew not how;

how; and a new Commiſſion granted, to they knew not whom. And beſides, he found himſelf unable to follow his Buſineſs, ſuppreſs thoſe Factions, and range the Country for Proviſions, as he before intended. And he well knew, that his own Preſence and Activity were as requiſite in thoſe Affairs, as his Advice and Directions. For all which Reaſons, he reſolved upon leaving the Country, and went preſently on board one of the Ships. 1609. *John Smith* Preſident.

CAPTAIN *Percy* had been, for ſome time, in a very bad State of Health, and had taken his Paſſage in one of the Ships, to go to *England*. But now, upon *Smith*'s Departure, many came about him, and by Intreaties and Perſuaſions, prevailed with him to ſtay, and take upon him the Government. But there were many others up in Arms, calling themſelves Preſidents and Counſellors; ſeveral of which began now to fawn upon and ſollicite *Smith*, to give up his Commiſſion to them. And after much ado, and many bitter Repulſes, that their Ruin and Confuſion might not be attributed to him, for leaving the Country without a Commiſſion, he permitted it to be ſtolen, but never could be induced to reſign it into ſuch vile Hands. In which he ſeems to have been ſomething froward and peeviſh. For ſince the old Soldiers, and better Sort of new Comers, had generally agreed upon Captain *Percy* for their Governor, a Perſon every way fit for the Office, except in Point of Health, it would have been but reaſonable in him, to have endeavoured to confirm him in his Authority, and when he departed, to have delivered up his Commiſſion to him. The Hon. *George Percy* Eſq; Governor.

AND thus, about *Michaelmas* 1609, Captain *Smith* left the Country, never again to ſee it. He left behind him three Ships and ſeven Boats; Commodities ready for Trade; the Corn newly gathered; ten Weeks Proviſion in the Store; four hundred ninety and odd Perſons; twenty four Pieces of Ordinance; three hundred Muſkets, with other Arms and Ammunition, more than ſufficient for the Men; the *Indians*, their Language, and Habitations, well known to an hundred trained and expert Soldiers; Nets for fiſhing; Tools, of all Sorts, to work; Apparel, to ſupply their Wants; ſix Mares and a Horſe; five or ſix hundred Hogs; as many Hens and Chickens; with ſome Goats, and ſome Sheep. For whatever had been brought, or bred here, ſtill remained. But this ſeditious and diſtracted Rabble, regarding not any thing, but from Hand to Mouth, riotouſly conſumed, what there was; and took Care for nothing, but to colour and make out ſome Complaints againſt Captain *Smith*. For this End, the Ships were ſtaid three Weeks, at a great Charge, till they could produce and bring

1609. The Hon. *George Percy* Esq; Governor.

bring them to bear. But, notwithstanding their perverse Humours and unreasonable Clamours, Captain *Smith* was undoubtedly a Person of a very great and generous Way of thinking, and full of a high Idea of the publick Good and his Country's Honour. To his Vigor, Industry, and undaunted Spirit and Resolution, the Establishment and firm Settlement of this Colony was certainly owing; and therefore it may not be unacceptable to the Reader, to have some farther Account of his Person and Actions. And this we are enabled to do the more authenticly, as he hath himself, at the Request of Sir *Robert Cotton*, the famous Antiquarian, left a brief Relation of his principal Travels and Adventures.

He was born a Gentleman, to a competent Fortune, at *Willoughby* in *Lincolnshire*, in the Year 1579. From his very Childhood, he had a roving and romantic Fancy, and was strangely set upon performing some brave and adventurous Atchievement. Accordingly, being about thirteen Years of Age at School, he sold his Satchel and Books, and all, he had, to raise Money, in order to go secretly beyond Sea. But his Father dying just at that Time, he was stopped for the present, and fell into the Hands of Guardians, more intent on improving his Estate, than him. However, at fifteen, in the Year 1594, he was bound to a Merchant at *Lynn*, the most considerable Trader in those Parts. But because he would not send him immediately to Sea, he found Means, in the Train of Mr. *Peregrine Bertie*, second Son to the Lord *Willoughby*, to pass into *France*. Here, and in the Low-Countries, he first learnt the Rudiments of War; to which Profession he was led, by a strong Propensity of Genius. He was afterwards carried into *Scotland*, with delusive Hopes, from a *Scottish* Gentleman, of being effectually recommended to King *James*. But soon finding himself baffled in his Expectations, he returned to *Willoughby*, his native Place; where meeting with no Company, agreeable to his Way of thinking, he retired into a Wood, at a good Distance from any Town, and there built himself a Pavilion of Boughs, and was wholly employed, in studying some Treatises of the Art of War, and in the Exercise of his Horse and Lance. But his Friends, being concerned at such a whimsical Turn of Mind, prevailed with an *Italian* Gentleman, Rider to the Earl of *Lincoln*, to insinuate himself into his Acquaintance; and as he was an expert Horseman, and his Talent and Studies lay the same Way with Mr. *Smith*'s, he drew him from his sylvan Retirement, to spend some time with him at *Tattersall*.

BUT *Smith*'s reſtleſs Genius ſoon hurried him again into *Flanders*; where lamenting to ſee ſuch Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, he reſolved to try his Fortune againſt the *Turks*. In order to this, he paſſed through *France*, with Variety of Adventure and Misfortune, in which he always ſhewed a high and martial Spirit. At *Marſcilles* he embarked for *Italy*. But the Ship meeting with much foul Weather, a Rabble of Pilgrims, on board, hourly curſed him for a Hugonot, railed at Queen *Elizabeth* and his whole Nation, and ſwore, they ſhould never have fair Weather, as long as he was in the Ship. At laſt, the Paſſions of theſe pious Chriſtians roſe ſo high, that they threw him overboard; truſting, we may ſuppoſe, in the Merit and Supererogation of that holy Pilgrimage, to expiate the trifling Offence and Peccadillo of Murder. However, *Smith*, by the Divine Aſſiſtance, got ſafe to a ſmall uninhabited Iſland, againſt *Nice* in *Savoy*. From thence he was, the next Day, taken off by a *French* Rover, who treated him very kindly, and with whom he therefore made the Tour of the whole *Mediterranean*, both on the *Mahometan* and the Chriſtian Coaſts. At length, after a deſperate Battle, having taken a very rich *Venetian* Ship, the generous *Frenchman* ſet him aſhore, with his Share of the Prize; amounting to five hundred Sequeens in Specie, and a Box of rich Commodities, worth near as much more. And now out of Curioſity ranging all the Regions and Principalities of *Italy*, he at laſt went to *Vienna*, and entered himſelf a Gentleman Volunteer, in Count *Meldritch*'s Regiment, againſt the *Turk*.

HE had not been long in the Chriſtian Army, before he was diſtinguiſhed for a Man of great perſonal Bravery; and in the Sieges of *Olumpagh* and *Alba-Regalis*, he was the Author of ſome Stratagems, which ſhewed a happy Talent for War, and did ſignal Service to the Chriſtian Cauſe. He was thereupon immediately advanced to the Command of a Troop of Horſe; and was, ſoon after, made Serjeant Major of the Regiment, a Poſt, at that Time, next to the Lieutenant Colonel. But Count *Meldritch*, a *Tranſilvanian* Nobleman by Birth, afterwards paſſed with his Regiment, out of the Imperial Service, into that of his natural Prince, *Sigiſmond Bathori*, Duke of *Tranſilvania*. And here, endeavouring to recover ſome patrimonial Lordſhips, then in the Poſſeſſion of the *Turk*, he laid Siege to a ſtrong Town, chiefly inhabited by Renegados and Banditti. Whilſt their Works were advancing ſlowly, and with great Difficulty, a *Turkiſh* Officer iſſued forth of the Town, and challenged any Chriſtian, of the Dignity of a Captain, to a ſingle Combat. Many were eager of the Honour of humbling

this

this haughty Muſſelman; but it was at laſt decided, by Lot, in Favour of Captain *Smith*. Accordingly, the Ramparts of the Town being filled with fair Dames and Men in Arms, and the Chriſtian Army drawn up in Battalia, the Combatants entered the Field, well mounted and richly armed, to the Sound of Hautboys and Trumpets; where, at the firſt Encounter, *Smith* bore the *Turk* dead to the Ground, and went off triumphantly with his Head. But the Infidel Garriſon being enraged at this, he afterwards engaged two other Officers; and being a great Maſter of his Arms, and the Management of his Horſe, he carried off their Heads, in the ſame Manner. After which, being attended with a Guard of ſix thouſand Men, with the three *Turkiſh* Horſes led before him, and before each a *Turk*'s Head upon a Spear, he was conducted to the General's Pavilion; who received him with open Arms, and preſented him with a fine Horſe, richly capariſoned, and with a Scimitar and Belt, worth three hundred Ducats. Soon after, the Duke himſelf, coming to view his Army, gave him his Picture, ſet in Gold; ſettled three hundred Ducats upon him, as a Yearly Penſion; and iſſued his Letters patent of Nobleſſe, giving him three *Turks* Heads, in a Shield, for his Arms; which Coat he ever afterwards bore, and it was admitted and recorded in the Herald's Office in *England*, by Sir *William Segar*, Garter, principal King at Arms.

BUT ſoon after, the Duke of *Tranſilvania* was deprived of his Dominions by the Emperor; and *Smith*, at the fatal Battle of *Rottenton*, in the Year 1602, was left upon the Field, among the dreadful Carnage of Chriſtians, as dead. But the Pillagers, perceiving Life in him, and judging by the Richneſs of his Habit and Armour, that his Ranſom might be conſiderable, took great Pains to recover him. After that, he was publickly ſold, among the other Priſoners; and was bought by a Baſhaw, who ſent him to *Conſtantinople*, as a Preſent to his Miſtreſs, *Charatza Tragabigzanda*, a beautiful young *Tartarian* Lady. *Smith* was then twenty three Years of Age, in the Bloom of Life, and, as it ſeems, of a very handſome Perſon. For this young Lady was ſo moved with Compaſſion, or rather Love, for him, that ſhe treated him with the utmoſt Tenderneſs and Regard. And to prevent his being ill uſed, or ſold, by her Mother, ſhe ſent him into *Tartary*, to her Brother, who was Timor Baſhaw of *Nalbrits*, on the *Palus Mœotis*. Here, ſhe intended, he ſhould ſtay, to learn the Language, together with the Manners and Religion of the *Turks*, till Time ſhould make her Miſtreſs of herſelf.

BUT the Bashaw, suspecting something of the Matter, from the affectionate Expressions, with which she recommended and pressed his good Usage, only treated *Smith* with the greater Cruelty and Inhumanity. *Smith*'s high Spirit, raised also by a Consciousness of *Tragabigzanda*'s Passion, could but ill brook this harsh Treatment. At last, being one Day threshing alone, at a Grange above a League from the House, the Timor came, and took Occasion, so to kick, spurn, and revile him, that forgetting all Reason, *Smith* beat out his Brains, with his threshing Bat. Then reflecting upon his desperate State, he hid the Body under the Straw, filled his Knapsack with Corn, put on the Timor's Cloaths, and mounting his Horse, fled into the Deserts of *Circassia*. After two or three Days fearful Wandering, he happened, providentially, on the Castragan, or great Road, that leads into *Muscovy*. Following this, for sixteen Days, with infinite Dread and Fatigue, he at last arrived at a *Muscovite* Garrison, on the Frontiers. Here he was kindly entertained and presented, as also at all the Places, through which he passed. Having travelled through *Siberia*, *Muscovy*, *Transilvania*, and the Midst of *Europe*, he at length found his old Friend and gracious Patron, the Duke of *Transilvania*, at *Leipsick*, together with Count *Meldritch*, his Colonel. Having spent some time with them, the Duke, at his Departure, gave him a Pass, intimating the Services, he had done, and the Honours, he had received; presenting him, at the same Time, with fifteen hundred Ducats of Gold, to repair his Losses. And altho' he was now intent on returning to his native Country, yet being furnished with this Money, he spent some time, in travelling through the principal Cities and Provinces of *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*. From the last, being led by the Rumour of Wars, he passed over into *Africa*, and visited the Court of *Morocco*. Having viewed many of the Places and Curiosities of *Barbary*, he at last returned, through *France*, to *England*; and in his Passage in a *French* Galley, they had a most desperate Engagement, for two or three Days together, with two *Spanish* Men of War. In *England*, all things were still, and in the most profound Peace; so that, there was no Room or Prospect for a Person of his active and warlike Genius. And therefore, having spent some time, in an idle and uneasy State, he willingly embarked himself with Captain *Gosnold*, in the Project of settling Colonies in *America*, and came to *Virginia*.

HIS Conduct here hath been sufficiently related; and I shall finish his Character, with the Testimonies of some of his Soldiers and Fellow-Adventurers. They own him to

have

have made Juſtice his firſt Guide, and Experience his ſecond: That he was ever fruitful in Expedients, to provide for the People under his Command, whom he would never ſuffer to want any thing, he either had, or could procure: That he rather choſe to lead, than ſend his Soldiers into Danger; and upon all hazardous or fatiguing Expeditions, always ſhared every thing equally with his Company, and never deſired any of them, to do or undergo any thing, that he was not ready, to do or undergo himſelf: That he hated Baſeneſs, Sloth, Pride, and Indignity, more than any Danger: That he would ſuffer Want, rather than borrow; and ſtarve, ſooner than not pay: That he loved Action, more than Words; and hated Falſhood and Covetouſneſs, worſe than Death: and, That his Adventures gave Life and Subſiſtency to the Colony, and his Loſs was their Ruin and Deſtruction. They confeſs, that there were many Captains in that Age (as there are indeed in all Ages) who were no Soldiers; but that Captain *Smith* was a Soldier, of the true old *Engliſh* Stamp, who fought, not for Gain or empty Praiſe, but for his Country's Honour and the publick Good: That his Wit, Courage, and Succeſs here, were worthy of eternal Memory: That by the mere Force of his Virtue and Courage, he awed the *Indian* Kings, and made them ſubmit, and bring Preſents: That, notwithſtanding ſuch a ſtern and invincible Reſolution, there was ſeldom ſeen a milder and more tender Heart, than his was: That he had nothing in him counterfeit or ſly, but was open, honeſt, and ſincere: and, That they never knew a Soldier, before him, ſo free from thoſe military Vices, of Wine, Tobacco, Debts, Dice, and Oaths.

FROM this Account of Captain *Smith*, extracted from his own Writings and the Teſtimony of his Contemporaries and Acquaintance, it will be eaſily ſeen, that he was a Soldier of Fortune, who had run through great Variety of Life and Adventure. And indeed he was ſo famous for this in his own Age, that he lived to ſee himſelf brought upon the Stage, and the chief Dangers, and moſt intereſting Paſſages of his Life, racked, as he complains, and miſrepreſented in low Tragedies. I cannot therefore forbear tranſiently obſerving *Oldmixon*'s Miſtake, who ſays, that the Company took him into their Service, becauſe he was a noted Seaman, and famed for his Experience in maritime Affairs. But to remark all the Errors of our Hiſtorians, but moſt eſpecially of *Oldmixon*, the weakeſt, moſt idle, and erroneous of all others, would be an infinite Work, and too often interrupt and break the Thread of my Narration. I hope therefore, the courteous Reader will be ſatisfied

tisfied with this ſhort Caution and Animadverſion, once for all. For to ſpeak the Truth ingenuouſly, I had rather find out and correct one Miſtake in my own, than expoſe and ridicule twenty Blunders in the Hiſtories of others. But to return to the Affairs of *Virginia*. 1609.

IT hath been before ſaid, that the Admiral-Ship, with Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, and Captain *Newport* on board, was ſeparated from the reſt of the Fleet in a Storm. She was ſo racked and torn by the violent Working of the Sea, and became ſo ſhattered and leaky, that the Water roſe in the Hold above two Tire of Hogſheads; and they were obliged to ſtand up to their Middles, with Kettles, Buckets, and other Veſſels, to bail it out. And thus they bailed and pumped, three Days and Nights, without Intermiſſion; and yet the Water ſeemed rather to gain upon them, than decreaſe. At laſt, all being utterly ſpent with Labour, and ſeeing no Hope, in Man's Apprehenſion, but of preſently ſinking, they reſolved to ſhut up the Hatches, and to commit themſelves to the Mercy of the Sea and God's good Providence. In this dangerous and deſperate State, ſome, who had good and comfortable Waters, fetched them, and drank to one another, as taking their laſt Leaves, till a more happy and joyful Meeting in the other World. But it pleaſed God, in his moſt gracious Providence, ſo to guide their Ship, to her beſt Advantage, that they were all preſerved, and came ſafe to Shore. *John Smith*, Preſident.

FOR Sir *George Somers* had ſat, all this Time, upon the Poop, ſcarce allowing himſelf Leiſure, either to eat or ſleep, cunning the Ship, and keeping her upright, or ſhe muſt, otherwiſe, long before this, have foundered. As he there ſat, looking wiſhfully about, he moſt happily and unexpectedly deſcried Land. This welcome News, as if it had been a Voice from Heaven, hurried them all above Hatches, to ſee, what they could ſcarce believe. But thereby, improvidently forſaking their Work, they gave ſuch an Advantage to their greedy Enemy, the Sea, that they were very nigh being ſwallowed up. But none were now to be urged, to do his beſt. Altho' they knew it to be *Bermudas*, a Place then dreaded and ſhunned by all Men, yet they ſpread all the Sail, and did every thing elſe, in their Power, to reach the Land. It was not long, before the Ship ſtruck upon a Rock; but a Surge of the Sea caſt her from thence, and ſo from one to another, till ſhe was moſt luckily thrown up between two, as upright, as if ſhe had been on the Stocks. And now the Danger was, leſt the Billows, overtaking her, ſhould, in an Inſtant, have daſhed and ſhivered her to Pieces. But all on a ſudden, the Wind

1609. *John Smith President.*

lay, and gave Place to a Calm; and the Sea became so peaceable and still, that, with the greatest Conveniency and Ease, they unshipped all their Goods, Victuals, and People, and in their Boats, with extreme Joy, almost to Amazement, arrived in Safety, without the Loss of a Man, altho' more than a League from the Shore.

How these Islands came by the Name of *Bermudas*, is not certainly agreed. Some say, that they were so named after *John Bermudaz*, a *Spaniard*, who first discovered them, about the Year 1522. Others report, that a *Spanish* Ship, called the *Bermudas*, was cast away upon them, as she was carrying Hogs to the *West-Indies*, which swam ashore, and increased to incredible Numbers. But they had been, in all Times before, infamous and terrible to Mariners, for the Wreck of many *Spanish*, *Dutch*, and *French* Vessels. They were therefore, with the usual Elegance of the Sea Stile, by many called the *Isle of Devils*; and were esteemed the Hell or Purgatory of Seamen, the most dangerous, unfortunate, and forlorn Place in the World.

But the safe Arrival of this Company was not more strange and providential, than their Feeding and Support was beyond all their Hopes or Expectation. For they found it the richest, pleasantest, and most healthful Place, they had ever seen. Being safe on Shore, they disposed themselves, some to search the Islands for Food and Water, and others to get ashore, what they could, from the Ship. Sir *George Somers* had not ranged far, before he found such a Fishery, that, in half an Hour, he took, with a Hook and Line, as many, as sufficed the whole Company. In some Places, they were so thick in the Coves, and so big, that they were afraid to venture in amongst them; and Sir *George Somers* caught one, that had before carried off two of his Hooks, so large, that it would have pulled him into the Sea, had not his Men got hold of him. Two of those Rock-fish would have loaded a Man; neither could any where be found, fatter, or more excellent Fish, than they were. Besides, there were infinite Numbers of Mullets, Pilchards, and other small Fry; and by making a Fire in the Night, they would take vast Quantities of large Crawfish. As for Hogs, they found them in that Abundance, that, at their first Hunting, they killed thirty two. And there were likewise Multitudes of excellent Birds, in their Seasons; and the greatest Facility, to make their Cabbins with *Palmeta* Leaves. This caused them to live in such Plenty, Ease, and Comfort, that many forgot all other Places, and never desired to return from thence.

In

1609.

IN the mean while, the Thoughts of the two Knights were busily employed, how to proceed, in this desperate State of their Affairs. At last, it was resolved, to deck the Long-boat with the Ship's Hatches, and to send Mr. *Raven*, a stout and able Mariner, with eight more in her, to *Virginia*; to get Shipping from thence, to fetch them away. But she was never more heard of; and such was the Malice, Envy, and Ambition of some; that, notwithstanding Sir *George Somers*'s eminent Services, there arose great Differences between the Commanders. So that, as if, according to the Observation of a *Spanish* Author, the Air of *America* was infectious, and inclined Mens Minds to Wrangling and Contention, they lived asunder, in the Height of this their Calamity, rather like mere Strangers, than distressed Friends. But the several Parties, each resolved upon building a Vessel. In the mean while, two Children were born. The Boy was called *Bermudas*, and the Girl *Bermuda*; and in the Midst of all their Sorrows, they had a merry *English* Wedding. But the two Cedar Ships being, at length, finished, and rigged with what they saved from the *Sea-Venture*, they calked them, and paid the Seams with Lime and Turtle's Oyl, instead of Pitch and Tar; which quickly became dry, and as hard as a Stone. Sir *George Somers* had no Iron in his Bark, except one Bolt in the Keel. And now, their Provisions being laid in, and all Things in Readiness, after about Nine Months Abode there, they set Sail, on the 10th of *May*, 1610. They left behind them two Men, *Christopher Carter* and *Edward Waters*; who, for their Offences, fled into the Woods, and desired, rather there to end their Days, than to stand to the Event of Justice. For one of their Accomplices had been shot to Death, and *Waters* was actually tied to a Tree to be executed; but he had, by Chance, a Knife about him, with which he secretly cut the Rope, and ran into the Woods. There also came from *England* with them two *Indians*, named *Namontack* and *Machumps*. But, upon some Difference, *Machumps* slew *Namontack*; and having made a Hole to bury him, because it was too short, he cut off his Legs, and laid them by him. Neither was the Murder ever discovered, before he got to *Virginia*.

The Hon. *George Percy* Esq; Governor.

1610.

WHILST these Things were passing in *Bermudas*, the Colony in *Virginia* was reduced to the utmost Misery and Distress. Captain *Percy*, their Governor, was so sick and weak the whole Time, that he could neither go nor stand. Wherefore he could not keep up his Authority with such a seditious Crew; nor act with that Vigor and Industry, as

1610. might justly have been expected from him. Captain *Martin* from *Nansamond*, and Captain *West* from the Falls, having lost their Boats, and near half their Men, were returned to *James-Town*. For the *Indians* no sooner understood, that *Smith* was gone, but they revolted, and spoiled and murdered all, they met. And now they had twenty Presidents, with all their Appurtenances of Parasites and Profusion. They lavishly spent the Provisions, sent from *England* in the last Ships; which, however, were so bad, and so insufficient in Proportion, that the poor famishing People, in the Bitterness of their Heart, poured forth, the whole Time, the most dreadful Curses and Execrations against Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Treasurer. And they were therefore soon obliged, to depend wholly, on what Captain *Smith* left; which he had provided, only to serve his own Company for some Time, with Intention, afterwards to lay in a much larger Stock. But before these Provisions were quite consumed, Captain *West* and Captain *Ratcliffe*, each with a small Ship, and thirty or forty Men well appointed, went abroad to trade. *Ratcliffe*, upon Confidence of *Powhatan*'s fair Professions, was slain, with thirty others, as careless as himself. Only one Man of the Company escaped; and *Pocahontas* saved a Boy, one *Henry Spilman*, who lived for many Years, by her Means, among the *Patowmacks*. But *Powhatan*, still as he found Opportunity, cut off their Boats, and denied them Trade; so that Captain *West* sailed off in his Ship to *England*.

The Hon. *George Percy* Esq; Governor.

AND now, they were all deeply sensible of the Loss of Captain *Smith*. Even his bitterest Enemies, and greatest Maligners, would curse their Destiny for his Departure. Instead of Corn and Contribution from the *Indians*, which his Industry and Authority still wrested from them, they had nothing but Scoffs and mortal Wounds. And as for their Hogs, Sheep, Goats, Hens, and other Animals, their riotous Commanders, and the *Indians*, daily consumed and destroyed them. So that they traded away their Swords, Firelocks, and any thing else, they had, with the *Indians*; who were thereby enabled, the more easily, often to embrue their cruel Hands in their Blood. Those, who had Startch, made no little Use of it, in this Extremity; and the very Skins of their Horses were prepared, by stewing and hashing, into dainty and welcome Food. Nay, so great was the Famine, that the poorer Sort took up an *Indian*, that had been slain and buried, and eat him; and so did several others, one another, that died, boiled and stewed with Roots and Herbs. And one, among the rest, killed his Wife, powdered her up, and had eaten Part of her, before

before it was discovered; for which he was, afterwards, deservedly executed. In short, so extreme was the Famine and Distress of this Time, that it was, for many Years after, distinguished and remembered, by the Name of the STARVING TIME. And by these means, of near five hundred Persons, left by Captain *Smith* at his Departure, within six Months, there remained not above sixty, Men, Women, and Children; and those most poor and miserable Creatures, preserved, for the most part, by Roots, Herbs, Acorns, Walnuts, Berries, and now and then a little Fish. Neither was it possible for them, to have held out ten Days longer, without being all utterly extinct and famished with Hunger. 1610. The Hon. *George Percy* Esq; Governor.

IN this calamitous State, did Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Somers* find the Colony, at their Arrival, on the 24th of *May*. These two noble Knights, being utter Strangers to their Affairs, could understand nothing of the Cause and Reason of these Miseries, but by Conjecture from their Clamours and Complaints, either accusing, or excusing one another. They therefore embarked them all, in the best manner, they could, and set Sail for *England*. At their Departure, many were importunate to burn the Houses and Fort at *James-Town*. But God, who did not intend, that this excellent Country should be so abandoned, put it into the Heart of Sir *Thomas Gates*, to save the Town and Fortifications. For having fallen down to *Hog-Island*, and thence to *Mulberry-Point*, they descried the Long-boat of the Lord *Delawarr*; who, being then Captain-General of *Virginia*, a Title ever after given to our Governors in chief, came up with three Ships, exceedingly well furnished with all Necessaries, and returned them back to *James-Town*. Sir *Thomas Gates*, Governor.

HIS Lordship arrived the 9th of *June*, accompanied with Sir *Ferdinando Waynman*, General of the Horse, (who soon after died here) Captain *Holcroft*, and divers other Gentlemen of Figure. The 10th he came up with his Fleet, went ashore, heard a Sermon, read his Commission, and entered into Consultation about the Affairs of the Colony. Then he made a short Speech to the Company, justly blaming them for their Pride, Vanity, and Sloth, and earnestly entreating them to amend their Ways, lest he should be compelled to draw the Sword of Justice, and cut off such Delinquents; which, he professed, he had much rather draw, to the shedding his own vital Blood, in their Cause and Defence. He also constituted proper Officers of all Kinds, and allotted every Man his particular Place and Business. This Oration was received with a general Applause; and you might soon see the idle and restless Humours of a divided Multitude, by the Splendor, Unity, and Authority of Lord *Delawarr*, Governor.

1610. this Government, subſtantially healed. Captain *Martin* was removed from the Council, for his weak, cruel, and diſorderly Behaviour; and thoſe, who knew not the Path to Goodneſs before, would now chalk it out to their Fellows, endeavouring to outſtrip each other in Diligence and Induſtry. The *French* prepared to plant the Vines; the *Engliſh* laboured in the Woods and Grounds; and every Man knew his particular Buſineſs and Vocation, which he followed with Alacrity and Pleaſure.

Lord De-la-warr, Governor.

BUT altho' his Lordſhip's Stores were very plentiful for his own Company, yet were they far from being enough to ſuffice the whole Colony. For it was computed, that all the Proviſion, landed from *England*, the whole firſt three Years, was not ſufficient to have ſerved the People, according to their Numbers, ſix Months. Underſtanding therefore, what Plenty there was of Hogs and other good Proviſions in *Bermudas*, he determined to ſend thither for a ſufficient Supply. Whereupon Sir *George Somers*, who, by his Diligence in ranging thoſe Iſlands, was beſt acquainted with the Place, and whoſe generous Mind ever regarded the publick Good, more than his own private Ends, altho' of above threeſcore Years of Age, and of a Fortune in *England* ſuitable to his Rank and Quality, yet offered his Service to perform this dangerous Voyage to thoſe rocky and unfortunate Iſlands; and he promiſed with God's Aſſiſtance, ſoon to return, with ſix Months Proviſion of Fleſh. On the 19th of *June*, he embarked, in his own Cedar Veſſel, of thirty Tons; and Captain *Samuel Argall* was alſo ſent with him, in another ſmall Bark. But Captain *Argall* was ſoon forced back, by Streſs of Weather; and was ſent, by the Lord Governor, to *Patowmack* River, to trade for Corn. He there found the *Engliſh* Boy, *Henry Spilman*, preſerved by *Pocahontas* and thoſe *Indians*, from the Fury of *Powhatan*. He was a young Gentleman, well deſcended; and, by his Acquaintance and Help, Captain *Argall* received ſuch good Uſage from that kind People, that his Veſſel was ſoon freighted with Corn, with which he returned to *James-Town*. But Sir *George Somers* ſtruggled long with foul Weather and contrary Winds; and was at laſt forced to the Northern Parts of the Continent, where he refreſhed himſelf and his Men on the unknown Coaſt. But departing thence again, he at length arrived ſafe at *Bermudas*. Uſing too much Diligence and Pains in diſpatching his Buſineſs, and the Strength of his Body not anſwering the ever memorable Vigor of his Mind, having lived long in honourable Employments, much beloved, and highly eſteemed, thro' his whole Life, Nature at laſt could no longer ſupport the

Burthen

Burthen, but sunk under his too great Labour and Fatigue. Finding his Time but short, after having made a proper Disposition of his Estate, he called them together, and like a valiant Captain and worthy Patriot, exhorted them to be true and constant to those Plantations, and with all Expedition and Diligence, to return to *Virginia*. 1610. Lord *Delawarr*, Governor.

THUS died this virtuous and honourable Knight, in the very Place, where they afterwards built a Town, from him called *St. Georges*; and the Islands themselves have ever since borne the Name of the *Somer-Islands*, in Honour to his Memory. But Captain *Matthew Somers*, his Nephew, and all his Men, were in such Grief and Consternation at his Death, and were so heedless and unconcerned for the Colony, that they utterly neglected his dying Instructions, to return to *Virginia*. For having buried his Heart and Entrails, and erected a Cross over the Place; they embalmed his Body, and set Sail with it, in his Cedar Ship, for *England*. Arriving safe at *Whitchurch* in *Dorsetshire*, he was there honourably enterred, with many Vollies of Shot, and the Rites of a Soldier. But the Cross was accidentally found, nine Years after, in a Bye-place, overgrown with Bushes, by Captain *Nathaniel Butler*, then Governor of those Islands. Resolving to have a better Memorial of so worthy a Soldier, and finding a large Marble Stone, brought from *England*, he caused it to be handsomely wrought by Masons, and laid over the Place; engraving an Epitaph, agreeable to the Taste and Manner of the Times, and environing the whole with a square Wall of hewn Stone. But I understand, that this Monument is now utterly obliterated, and the Place quite forgot and unknown in that Country.

UPON this Occasion, there also happened a very humourous Circumstance. *Carter* and *Waters* had been left here, when the rest went to *Virginia*, as hath been said. And now, by *Carter*'s Persuasions, *Waters* was still staid, and one *Edward Chard* joined himself to them. This Vessel once out of Sight, these three Lords and sole Inhabitants of all those Islands, began to erect their little Commonwealth, with equal Power and brotherly Regency, building a House, preparing the Ground, planting their Corn, and such Seeds and Fruits, as they had, and providing other Necessaries and Conveniences. Then making Search among the Crevices and Corners of those craggy Rocks, what the Ocean, from the World's Creation, had thrown up among them, besides divers smaller Pieces, they happened upon the largest Block of Ambergrease, that had ever been seen or heard of, in one Lump. It weighed four-

1610. Lord *Delawarr*, Governor.

fourſcore Pounds; and is ſaid, itſelf alone, beſides the others, to have been then worth nine or ten thouſand Pounds. And now being rich, they grew ſo reſty and ambitious, that theſe three forlorn Men, above three thouſand Miles from their native Country, and with little Probability of ever ſeeing it again, fell out for the Superiority and Rule. And their Competition and Quarrel grew ſo high, that *Chard* and *Waters*, being of the greateſt Spirit, had appointed to decide the Matter in the Field. But *Carter* wiſely ſtole their Arms; chuſing rather, to bear with ſuch troubleſome Rivals, than, by being rid of them, to live alone. So doubtful a Good are Riches, and ſo prepoſterous a Thing the Mind of Man!

IN the mean while, the Lord *Delawarr*, in *Virginia*, built two Forts at *Kicquetan*; and called one, *Fort Henry*, the other, *Fort Charles*. They ſtood on a pleaſant Plain, near a little River, which they named *Southampton* River, in a wholeſome Air, having plenty of Springs, and commanding a large Circuit of Ground, which contained Wood, Paſture, and Marſh, with fit Places for Vines, Corn, and Gardens. Here it was intended, that thoſe, who came from *England*, ſhould be quartered at their firſt Landing, that the Weariſomeneſs and Nauſea of the Sea might be refreſhed, in this pleaſant Situation, and wholeſome Air. Sir *Thomas Gates* he ſent to *England*; and Captain *Percy*, with Mr. *Stacy* and fifty or threeſcore good Shot, was diſpatched to revenge ſome Injuries of the *Paſpaheys*. But thoſe *Indians* flying, they burnt their Houſes, and took the Queen and her Children Priſoners, whom not long after they ſlew. So much was the Government already altered from the Clemency of *Smith*'s Adminiſtration, who never did, nor would have been permitted, to ſhed the leaſt Drop of *Indian* Blood, by Way of Puniſhment; but was obliged to ſupply the Want of ſufficient Vigor and Power in his Authority, by his own Activity, Induſtry, Art, and Circumſpection.

SOME time after, as my Lord *Delawarr* was at the Falls, the *Indians* aſſaulted his Troops, and killed three or four of his Men. But his Lordſhip had now been long ſick. Immediately upon his Arrival, he was ſeized with an Ague, which, being put by for the preſent, ſoon returned with greater Violence than ever; and he began to be diſtempered with other grievous Sickneſſes. He was firſt aſſailed by the Flux, then by the Cramp, and after that by the Gout; all which reduced him to ſo weak and low a State, that, being unable to ſtir, it brought upon him the Scurvy. Therefore, by the Advice of his Friends, on the 28th of *March*,

March, he ſhipped himſelf, with Dr. *Bohun* and Captain *Argall*, for *Mevis* in the *Weſt-Indies*, an Iſland, at that time, famous for wholeſome Baths. At his Departure, he committed the Colony to the Charge of Captain *Percy*, 'till the Arrival of Sir *Thomas Dale*. And he left behind about two hundred Perſons, moſt of them in good Health, and well provided with Victuals, and the Natives, to all outward Appearance, tractable and friendly. But being croſſed by *Southerly* Winds, they were obliged to ſhape their Courſe to the *Weſtern-Iſlands*; where his Lordſhip met with much Relief from Oranges and Lemons, a ſovereign Remedy for that Diſorder. However he was adviſed, not to hazard himſelf back to *Virginia* yet, but to return to *England*, for the perfect Recovery of his Health. 1611. The Hon. *George Percy* Eſq; Governor.

THE Council in *England* were, all this while, ſtill eager after ſome immediate Profit. Therefore, finding the Smalneſs of the Return by thoſe Ships, which had carried the laſt Supply, they entered into ſerious Conſultation, whether it were better, to come into a new Contribution, or in time to abandon the Country, and give over the Enterpriſe. Wherefore, upon the Arrival of Sir *Thomas Gates*, they adjured him to deal plainly with them; and he, with a ſolemn and ſacred Oath, gave them a full Account of the State and Proſpect of Things. And he told them, that all Men knew, they lay at the Mercy of politic Princes and States; who, for their own proper Utility, deviſed all Methods to grind their Merchants, and, on any Pretence, to confiſcate their Goods, and draw from them all Manner of Gain; whereas *Virginia*, in a few Years, might furniſh all their Wants, with Honour and Security. But, by this time, ſome of the Adventurers were become ſuſpicious of the Treaſurer's Fairneſs in the Carriage and Management of the Buſineſs. To which the Lord *Delawarr*'s Return added a farther Damp and Diſcouragement, and bred ſuch a Coldneſs and Irreſolution in many of them, that they endeavoured to withdraw their Payments. Being ſued, ſome pleaded in Chancery, upon their Oaths, that the Monies were not converted to the Uſe intended, but to private Mens Gains; and that no Accounts were kept, or at leaſt legally audited and examined. But this was overruled, and no ways regarded or believed; and Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Integrity was then thought ſo unqueſtionable, that they were obliged to pay their Sums ſubſcribed. The Lord *Delawarr* alſo, being much pleaſed with the Country, and cordial in the Affair, made a publick Oration in the Council; which he afterwards publiſhed, to allay their Diſcontents, and give Satisfaction to all. And his Lordſhip proteſted himſelf willing,

1611. Sir *Thomas Dale*, Governor.

ling, to venture his whole Fortune upon the Succeſs of the Enterpriſe; and rather than ſo honourable an Action ſhould fail, to return immediately in Perſon, if they would but ſecond his Endeavours.

BUT before the Arrival of Lord *Delawarr* in *England*, the Council and Company had diſpatched away Sir *Thomas Dale*, High Marſhal of *Virginia*, with three Ships, Men, and Cattle, and with all other Proviſions, thought neceſſary for a Year; which arrived ſafe, the 10th of *May*, 1611. Sir *Thomas* found the People again falling into their former Eſtate of Penury and Want. For they were ſo improvident, as not to put Corn into the Ground, but truſted wholly to the Store, then furniſhed with only three Months Proviſions. His firſt Care, therefore, was to employ all Hands in planting Corn at the two Forts at *Kicquotan*; and the Seaſon being then not fully paſt, they had an indifferent Crop of good Corn. And having taken Order for this Buſineſs, and committed the Care of it to his Under-Officers, he halted back to *James-Town*; where he found moſt of the Company, at their daily and uſual Work, bowling in the Streets. But he ſoon employed them about things more neceſſary; as felling Timber, and repairing their Houſes, ready to fall on their Heads. He likewiſe ſet many to providing Pales, Poſts, and Rails, to empale the new Town, he purpoſed to build; but being yet unacquainted with the Country, he had not reſolved, where to ſeat it. He therefore ſpent ſome time, with an hundred Men, in viewing the River of *Nanſamond*, in Deſpight of the *Indians*, at that time their Enemies. And then he examined *James* River, up to the Falls; and at length pitched upon a Place for his new Town, on the Narrow of *Farrar*'s Iſland, in *Varina* Neck, upon a high Land, nearly invironed by the main River.

BUT he found it no eaſy Matter, to reduce his turbulent and ſeditious People to good Order. About this time, Sir *Thomas Smith* ſent over a printed Book of Articles and Laws, chiefly tranſlated from the martial Laws of the *Low Countries*. Theſe were very bloody and ſevere, and no ways agreeable to a free People and the *Britiſh* Conſtitution; neither had they any Sanction or Authority from the Council and Company in *England*. However, Sir *Thomas Dale*, being ſadly troubled and peſtered with the mutinous Humours of the People, cauſed them to be publiſhed, and put into Execution with the utmoſt Rigor. And altho' the Manner was harſh and unuſual to *Engliſhman*, yet had not theſe military Laws been ſo ſtrictly executed at this time, there were little Hopes or Probability of preventing the utter

ter Subversion of the Colony. For, this Summer, one *Webb* and one *Price* entered into a Plot against the Government; which was, soon after, followed by a more dangerous Conspiracy of *Jeffrey Abbot*. This *Abbot* had served long as a Soldier, both in *Ireland* and the *Netherlands*, and was here Serjeant of Captain *Smith*'s Company; who declares, that he never knew in *Virginia*, a more able Soldier, less turbulent, of a better Wit, more hardy and industrious, or more forward to cut off those, who endeavoured to abandon the Country, or wrong the Colony. But from what Cause soever his Discontents arose, whether he resented his being neglected and unrewarded, and having others put over his Head and preferred before him, or whether there was any other Reason of his Dissatisfaction, it is certain, that this Man, who never received any Reward for his long Services and Deserts, now met with an immediate Punishment for this sudden and passionate Deviation from his Duty. One *Cole* also, and *Kitchens*, with three more, plotted to run away to the *Spaniards*, whom they supposed, from some wrong Information, to be inhabiting, some where within five Days Journey of the Fort. And these Commotions justified Sir *Thomas Dale*'s necessary Severities, which might otherwise have been branded, as many were then ready to do, with being too cruel and tyrannical. But however salutary such sharp and summary Proceedings might be at that time, as I find them owned to have been, and commended by all Parties; and however Sir *Thomas Dale* might safely be trusted with so great a Power, a Man of much Honour, Wisdom, and Experience; yet it is certain, that these Articles were utterly destructive of the *English* Freedom and Laws, and gave the Governor such a commanding and despotick Authority, as is, by no means, to be lodged in any Hand, in a Country, that has the least Thoughts or Pretensions to Liberty. 1611. Sir *Thomas Dale*, Governor.

In the Beginning of *August*, Sir *Thomas Gates* arrived in six tall Ships, with three hundred Men, an hundred Cattle, two hundred Hogs, and with all Manner of other Munition and Provision, that could be thought of, as needful and proper. At his Arrival, Sir *Thomas Dale*'s Authority determined, who, after mutual Salutations, acquainted him with what he had done, and what he intended. And now, being eased of the Burthen of Government, and more at Leisure, he set himself heartily about building his Town; and Sir *Thomas Gates*, highly approving the Design, furnished him with three hundred and fifty Men, such as he himself made Choice of. He set Sail from *James-Town*, the Beginning of *September*; and being arrived at the Place, he Sir *Thomas Gates* Governor.

1611. Sr *Thomas Gates*, Governor.

he environed it with a Paliſade, and in Honour of Prince *Henry*, called it *Henrico*. And then he built a Church, and Storehouſes; and at each Corner of the Town, high commanding Watch Towers. This being accompliſhed, he next provided proper and convenient Houſes for himſelf and Men, which were finiſhed with all poſſible Speed, to the great Comfort and Satisfaction of his Company and the whole Colony.

THE Ruins of this Town are ſtill plainly to be traced and diſtinguiſhed, upon the Land of the late Col. *William Randolph*, of *Tuckahoe*, juſt without the Entrance into *Farrar*'s iſland. It lay from River to River, upon a Plain of high Land, with very ſteep and inacceſſible Banks, and the Neck without, being well empaled, gave it all the Security and Conveniency of an Iſland. It had three Streets of well-framed Houſes, a handſome Church, and the Foundation of another laid, to be built of Brick, beſides Store-houſes, Watch-houſes, and other publick Conveniences. Upon the Verge of the River Bank, ſtood five Houſes, inhabited by the better Sort of People, who kept continual Sentinel for the Town's Security. About two Miles from the Town, into the Main, he run another Paliſade, from River to River, near two Miles in Length, guarded with ſeveral Forts, with a large Quantity of Corn-ground empaled and ſufficiently ſecured. Beſides theſe Precautions, there may ſtill be ſeen, upon the River Bank within the Iſland, the Ruins of a great Ditch, now over-grown with large and ſtately Trees; which, it may be ſuppoſed, was defended with a Paliſade, to prevent a Surpriſe on that Side, by croſſing the River. And for a ſtill further Security to the Town, he intended, but never quite finiſhed, a Paliſade on the *South* Side of the River, as a Range for their Hogs; and he called it *Hope in Faith and Coxendale*. It was about two Miles and an half long, and was ſecured by five of their Manner of Forts, called *Charity Fort*, *Eliſabeth Fort*, *Fort Patience*, and *Mount Malady*, with a Gueſt Houſe for ſick People, upon a high and dry Situation, and in a wholeſome Air, in the Place, where *Jefferſon*'s Church now ſtands. On the ſame Side of the River alſo, Mr. *Whitaker*, their Preacher, choſe to be ſeated; and he empaled a fair Parſonage, with an hundred Acres of Land, calling it *Rock-hall*.

ABOUT *Coriſtmas*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, to revenge ſome Injuries of the *Appamattock Indians*, aſſaulted and took their Town, without the Loſs of a Man. This Town ſtood at the Mouth of the River, and was accounted but five Miles, by Land, from *Henrico*. And Sir *Thomas*, conſidering how convenient it would be to the *Engliſh*, reſolved to poſſeſs

and

and ſeat it, and, at the Inſtant, called it *New Bermudas*. And he annexed, to the belonging Freedom and Corporation for ever, many Miles of champion and wood-land Ground, in ſeveral Hundreds, by the Names of the *Upper* and *Nether Hundreds*, *Rochdale* (now called *Rockſdale*) *Hundred*, *Shirley Hundred*, and *Digges's Hundred*. At *Bermudas*, where was the moſt Corn-ground, he firſt began to plant; and with a Pale of two Miles, acroſs from River to River, he encloſed and ſecured eight *Engliſh* Miles in Compaſs. Upon this Circuit, there were ſoon built many fair Houſes, to near the Number of fifty. *Rockſdale* was alſo encloſed with a croſs Paliſade, near four Miles in Length; and there were many Houſes, planted along the Pale, within which their Hogs and Cattle had twenty Miles Circuit to graze in ſecurely. 1611. Sr *Thomas Gates*, Governor.

IT will not be thought, I believe, foreign to the Hiſtory of *Virginia*, occaſionally to interſperſe ſome Account of the Fortunes of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, our Founder, and the firſt Author, to the *Engliſh*, of ſettling Colonies in *America*. Juſt before the Death of Queen *Eliſabeth*, he received a Challenge, upon ſome Quarrel, from Sir *Amias Preſton*, one of *Eſſex*'s Followers, and a Man of the Sword; which however was made up, by the Mediation of a certain great Nobleman, before it came to the laſt Deciſion. But on this Occaſion, Sir *Walter*, like a prudent and affectionate Father of a Family, had conveyed all his landed Eſtate, which conſiſted of about three thouſand Pounds a Year, to his Wife and Son. This was fortunately a Bar to his Lands falling abſolutely to the Crown, upon his Attainder. They were only forfeited for his own Life; and the King, upon ſome powerful Interceſſion, reſtored them to him again. So that he lived, under his Confinement, with much Elegancy, Neatneſs, and Affluence. For he was naturally a great Lover of Propriety; and had been, in the Time of his Proſperity, both in his Dreſs and Equipage, one of the moſt ſumptuous and polite Perſons of the Age. And now, being cut off from all the active Parts of Life, he indulged and gave a Looſe to his noble Genius, and natural Thirſt of Knowledge; and ſeemed (to uſe Prince *Henry*'s Alluſion) a ſinging Bird in a Cage; rather a Philoſopher, than a Captive; a Student in a Library, than a Priſoner in the Tower. The Reſtraint of his Body was ſo far from damping and confining his native Greatneſs of Mind and Sublimity of Parts, that it only opened a new Field of Glory to him, and rendered him as illuſtrious, in this ſtill and ſedentary Scene of Life, as he had before been, in his moſt active and proſperous Days. But at laſt, the Lawyers pretended to find

1611. find some Flaw in the Conveyance of his Lands; and an Information was exhibited against him, in the Court of Exchequer. His chief Judge, we are told, was his greatest Enemy; which, I suppose, was Sir *Edward Coke*, then Lord Chief Justice. For that famous Lawyer, notwithstanding his vast Abilities and Knowledge in the Common Law, will be branded to all Futurity, for bawling and railing Sir *Walter Raleigh* out of his Life at his Trial. And *Wilson*, a contemporary Historian, tells us, that it was popularly objected to him, as a Judge; That he made the Law lean too much to his own Opinion, thereby becoming a legal Tyrant, and striking, whom he pleased, with that Weapon, whose Edge he was able to turn any Way. When the Cause came to Trial, it was determined against Sir *Walter Raleigh*, only for the Want of one single Word in his Answer, setting forth that Conveyance; which was nevertheless an Oversight of the Clerk, and the Word was in the original Instrument. And thus was he most iniquitously deprived of his Lands; and upon Lady *Raleigh*'s passionate Application to the King, she could obtain no other Answer from him, but *I mun have the Land, I mun have it for* Car. It was accordingly conferred upon that Favourite, just then in his Rise; and Sir *Walter* wrote him a Letter upon the Occasion, which may be seen in his Life, by Mr. *Oldys*; and which may be placed, perhaps, among the most beautiful, wise, and pathetic Compositions, that ever has appeared of that Kind. So invariable was this Monarch in his wrong Judgment of Men and Things, as to aggrandize and enrich so insignificant a Tool, and one so infamously wicked, lewd, and insufficient, as *Car*, with the Spoils of a Person, so truly virtuous, great, and able, as Sir *Walter Raleigh*. As if Fortune had conspired to expose his Weakness, and render his Injustice the more conspicuous and remarkable, by the Contrast between the Man, he oppressed, and the Man, he advanced. However, as some Retaliation for the Injustice and Wrong, his Majesty afterwards gave Lady *Raleigh* and her Son eight Thousand Pounds for the Estate.

Sir *Thomas Gates*, Governor.

1612. CAPTAIN *Matthew Somers* and his Company, at their Return to *England* with Sir *George*'s Body, had made very advantageous Relations of *Bermudas*. But these were little credited at first, and looked upon, as mere Traveller's Tales; till some of the *Virginia* Company apprehended, that a Settlement there might be very beneficial and helpful to the Plantation in *Virginia*. But as by their former Letters-patent, they were only entitled to the Islands within an hundred Miles of their Coast, and as *Bermudas* lay much beyond

beyond that Distance, they procured a new Charter from his Majesty, bearing Date *March* 12, 1611-12. This granted them all the Islands in the Ocean Seas, within three hundred Leagues of the Coast, between the one and fortieth and thirtieth Degrees of *Northerly* Latitude. It also gave them a Power, to set up Lotteries; to sue for the Monies subscribed, requiring the Judges, to favour and further the said Suits, so far forth, as Law and Equity would, in any wise, further and permit; together with other ample Privileges and Authorities, as may be more fully seen in the Charter at large, printed in the Appendix. But the *Virginia* Company sold these Islands to about an hundred and twenty of their own Members, who were erected into a distinct Society and Body Corporate, by the Name of the *Somer-Islands* Company. Sir *Thomas Smith* was elected their Treasurer, or Governor, in *England*; and some time this Year 1612, Mr. *Richard More* was sent Governor of the Country, with sixty Men, to make a Settlement and Plantation. They found the three Men, before spoken of, lusty and well. They were very comfortably seated, and plentifully stored with divers Sorts of excellent Provisions. But under Colour, that they were fitted out, at the Charge, and in the Service of the Company, these three poor Men were prosecuted, tormented, and threatned by the Governor, in the Company's Name, 'till they were entirely deprived of their great Treasure of Ambergrease. However a great Part was embezzled by Captain *Davies* and Mr. *Edwin Kendal*, to whom they committed it, during the Squabble and Contention. So that not above a Third came into the Hands of the Company; for which, we are told, they afterwards compounded with the Finders, and made them a just and reasonable Satisfaction. 1612. Sir *Thomas Gates* Governor.

In the Beginning of the same Year, two Ships arrived in *Virginia*, with a Supply of Provisions and fourscore Men. But these Provisions, according to Custom, were very scanty and insufficient; and therefore Capt. *Argall*, who commanded one of the Ships, having recreated and refreshed his Company, was sent to *Patowmack* River, to trade for Corn. For the *Indians* about *James-Town* were in a ticklish State, and little to be depended upon; being Friends or Foes, according as they found Advantage and Opportunity. Captain *Argall* soon entered into a great Acquaintance and Friendship with *Japazaws*, King of *Patowmack*, an old Friend to Captain *Smith*, and so to the whole *English* Nation, ever since the first Discovery of the Country. Hard by *Patowmack*, *Pocahontas* lay concealed, thinking herself safe, and unknown to all but trusty Friends. What was the Reason

of

1612. of her abſconding from *Werowocomoco*, cannot eaſily be judged; except it was to withdraw herſelf from being a Witneſs to the frequent Butcheries of the *Engliſh*, whoſe Folly and Raſhneſs, after *Smith*'s Departure, put it out of her Power to ſave them. Captain *Argall*, having got Intelligence of this, engaged to give *Japazaws* a Copper Kettle, to bring her on board his Ship; promiſing not to hurt her, but to keep her ſafe, 'till they could conclude a Peace with her Father. This Savage would have done any thing for the Copper Kettle; and therefore, having no Pretence on Account of her own Curioſity, becauſe ſhe had ſeen and been in many Ships, he made his Wife pretend, how deſirous ſhe was to ſee one, ſo that he offered to beat her for her Importunity, 'till ſhe wept. But at laſt he told her, if *Pocahontas* would go with her, he was content. And thus, taking Advantage of her Good-nature and obliging Temper, they betrayed this innocent Creature aboard; where they were all kindly received and entertained in the Cabbin. The Captain, when he ſaw his Time, decoy'd *Pocahontas* into the Gun Room; only to conceal from her, that *Japazaws* was any way guilty of her Captivity. When he had received his Reward, the Captain ſent for her again; and told her, ſhe muſt go with him, and be the Means and Inſtrument of Peace, between her Country and the *Engliſh*. At this, the old Traitor and his Wife began to howl and cry, as much as *Pocahontas*; who, by the Captain's fair Promiſes and Perſuaſions, pacified herſelf, by degrees. And ſo *Japazaws* and his Wife, with their Kettle and other Baubles, went joyfully aſhore, and ſhe to *James-Town*; where, altho' a frequent Viſitant before, and often a kind Support and Preſerver of the Colony, ſhe had never been 'till now, ſince Captain *Smith* left the Country.

Sir *Thomas Gates* Governor.

A Meſſenger was immediately diſpatched to her Father; that he muſt ranſom his Daughter *Pocahontas*, whom he loved ſo dearly, with the Men, Guns, and Tools of the *Engliſh*, which he had treacherouſly ſtolen and ſurpriſed. This unwelcome News much troubled *Powhatan*, becauſe he loved both his Daughter and their Commodities well; and it threw him into ſuch Perplexity, that it was three Months, before he returned any Anſwer. Then he ſent back ſeven of the *Engliſh*, with each an unſerviceable Muſket; and ſent Word, that when they ſhould deliver his Daughter, he would make full Satisfaction for all Injuries, and give them five hundred Buſhels of Corn, and would be their Friend for ever. But the *Engliſh* anſwered; That his Daughter ſhould be well uſed; but that they could not believe, the reſt of their Arms were either loſt, or ſtolen

from

from him; and that therefore, they would keep his Daughter, till he had sent them all back. But this Answer displeased him so much, that they heard no more from him, for a long time after. 1612.

Sir *Thomas Gates*, Governor.

AT last, in the Beginning of the next Year, Sir *Thomas Dale* took *Pocahontas* with him, and went in Captain *Argall*'s Ship, with some other Vessels belonging to the Colony, up into his own River, to his chief Habitation at *Werowocomoco*, with a Party of an hundred and fifty Men, well appointed. *Powhatan* did not appear; and although the *English* told them, their Business was to deliver up their Emperor's Daughter, upon Restitution of the rest of their Men and Arms, yet were they received with many scornful Bravades and Threats. They told them, if they came to fight, they were welcome; but advised them, as they loved their Lives, to retire; or else they would treat them, as they had done Captain *Ratcliffe*. But after some small Skirmishes, and considerable Damage done the *Indians*, by burning their Houses, and spoiling all, they could find, a Peace was patched up. They immediately sent Messengers to *Powhatan*; and they told the *English*, that their Men were run off, for fear they should hang them; but that *Powhatan*'s Men were run after, to bring them back; and that their Swords and Muskets should be brought, the next Day. But the *English*, perceiving, that this was all Collusion, only to delay the Time, till they could carry off their Goods and Provisions, told them, that they should have a Truce, till the next Day at Noon; but then, if they had not a direct Answer to their Demands, or found them inclinable to fight, they should know, when the *English* would begin, by the Sound of their Drums and Trumpets. Upon Confidence of this Truce, two of *Powhatan*'s Sons came on board the Ship, to see their Sister; on whose Sight, finding her well, although they had heard the contrary, they greatly rejoiced; and they promised to persuade their Father, to redeem her, and for ever be Friends with the *English*. Hereupon Mr. *John Rolfe* and Mr. *Sparks* were sent to *Powhatan*, to acquaint him with the Business. They were kindly received and entertained, but not admitted into the Presence of the Emperor. They only spoke with *Opechancanough*, who promised to do his utmost with his Brother, to incline him to Peace and Friendship. But it now being *April*, and Time to prepare their Ground, and set their Corn, they returned to *James-Town*, without doing any thing more in the Affair. 1613.

LONG before this, Mr. *John Rolfe*, a worthy young Gentleman, and of good Behaviour, had been in Love with

1613. *Pocahontas*, and she with him. And at this time, he made the thing known to Sir *Thomas Dale*, through Mr. *Ralph Hamer*, and wrote him a Letter, entreating his Advice; and she likewise acquainted her Brother with it. Sir *Thomas Dale* highly approved of it; and the Report of this Marriage soon coming to the Knowledge of *Powhatan*, it was found a thing acceptable to him, by his sudden Consent. For within ten Days, he sent *Opachisco*, an old Uncle of hers, and two of his Sons, to see the Manner of the Marriage, and to do in that Behalf, what they were required, for the Confirmation of it, as his Deputies. It was therefore solemnised in the Beginning of *April* 1613; and ever after, they had friendly Trade and Commerce, as well with *Powhatan* himself, as with all his Subjects.

Sir *Thomas Gates*, Governor.

THE *Chickahominies* were a stout, daring, and free People. They had no Werowance, or single Ruler, but were governed, in a Republican Form, by their Elders. These were their Priests, and some of the wisest of their old Men, as Assistants to them. In Consequence of these Principles of Government, they took all Opportunities of shaking off *Powhatan*'s Yoke, whom they looked upon and hated, as a Tyrant. And therefore, they had taken Advantage of these late Times of Hostility and Danger as well to the *Indians*, as to the *English*, to assert their Liberty. But now, seeing *Powhatan* so closely linked with the *English*, both in Affinity and Friendship, they were in great Concern and Dread, lest he should bring them again to his Subjection. To prevent which, they sent Ambassadors to Sir *Thomas Dale*; excusing all former Injuries, and promising ever after to be King *James*'s faithful Subjects: That they would relinquish the Name of *Chickahominies*, and be called *Tassantessus*, or *Englishmen*, and that Sir *Thomas Dale* should be their Governor, as the King's Deputy. Only they desired to be governed by their own Laws, under their eight Elders, as his Substitutes. Sir *Thomas Dale*, hoping for some Advantage from this, willingly accepted their Offer. At the Day appointed, with Captain *Argall* and fifty Men, he went to *Chickahominy*; where he found the People assembled, expecting his Coming. They treated him kindly; and the next Morning, having held a Council, the Peace was concluded on these Conditions:

I. THAT they should for ever be called *Englishmen*, and be true Subjects to King *James* and his Deputies:

II. THAT they should neither kill, nor detain, any of the *English*, or of their Cattle, but should bring them home;

III. THAT

III. THAT they ſhould be always ready, to furniſh the *Engliſh* with three hundred Men, againſt the *Spaniards*, or any other Enemy: 1613. Sr *Thomas Gates*, Governor.

IV. THAT they ſhould not enter any of the *Engliſh* Towns, before ſending in Word, that they were new *Engliſhmen*:

V. THAT every fighting Man, at gathering their Corn, ſhould bring two Buſhels to the Store, as a Tribute; for which he ſhould receive as many Hatchets:

VI. THAT the eight chief Men ſhould ſee all this performed, or receive the Puniſhment themſelves; and for their Diligence, they ſhould have a red Coat, a Copper Chain, and King *James*'s Picture, and be accounted his Nobleman.

THESE Articles were joyfully aſſented to and ratified, by a great Shout and Acclamation; and one of their Elders began an Oration, addreſſing his Speech, firſt to the old Men, then to the Young, and then to the Women and Children, to make them underſtand, how ſtrictly they were to obſerve theſe Conditions, and that then the *Engliſh* would defend them from the Fury of *Powhatan*, or any other Enemy whatſoever. And thus was their Liberty once more ſecured; which indeed had its uſual good Effects, even among theſe wild and ſavage Nations. For altho' *Chickahominy* is far from being famous for good Land, yet we are told, that they had the largeſt Fields, and moſt plentiful Crops of Corn, and the greateſt Abundance of all other Proviſions and Neceſſaries, of any People then in the Country. Such a happy Influence had Liberty, and ſuch viſible Incitement did firm Property give to the Induſtry of even that lazy and improvident People.

AND now the *Engliſh* began to find the Miſtake of forbidding and preventing private Property. For whilſt they all laboured jointly together, and were fed out of the common Store, happy was he, that could ſlip from his Labour, or ſlubber over his Work in any Manner. Neither had they any Concern about the Increaſe; preſuming, however the Crop proſpered, that the publick Store muſt ſtill maintain them. Even the moſt honeſt and induſtrious would ſcarcely take ſo much true Pains in a Week, as they would have done for themſelves in a Day. The five Years alſo, preſcribed in his Majeſty's Inſtructions under the Privy Seal, for trading all together in common Stocks, and bringing the whole Fruit of their Labours into common Store-houſes, were now expired. Therefore, to prevent this Inconveniency and bad Conſequence, Sir *Thomas Dale* allotted

1613. Sir *Thomas Gates*, Governor.

each Man three Acres of cleared Ground, in the Nature of Farms. They were to work eleven Months for the Store, and had two Bushels of Corn from thence; and only had one Month allowed them, to make the rest of their Provisions. This was certainly very hard and pinching; but his new and favourite Settlement at *Bermudas Hundred* had better Conditions. For one Month's Labour, which must neither be in Seed-time nor Harvest, they were exempted from all further Service; and for this Exemption they only paid two Barrels and a half of Corn, as a Yearly Tribute to the Store. However, the Prospect of these Farmers Labours gave the Colony much Content; and they were no longer in Fear of wanting, either for themselves, or to entertain their new Supplies.

SIR *Thomas Dale* had been very active and industrious in ranging about and viewing the Country, and was vastly delighted with its Pleasantness and Fertility. Being therefore much vexed and concerned, to find the Possession of so noble a Territory set so light by at home, as even sometimes to be debated, whether it should be farther prosecuted, or entirely abandoned, he wrote a Letter to Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Treasurer; wherein he assures them all, and prays them to remember it, that if they should give over the Enterprise, and lose the Country, they would, in their great Wisdom, commit an Error of such Prejudice and Damage to *England*, as had never happened to it, since the Loss of the Kingdom of *France*. He desires them not to be gulled and deceived, by the clamorous Reports of base People, but to believe *Caleb* and *Joshua*. And if the Glory of God, and the Conversion of those poor Infidels, had no Influence on the rich Mammons of the Earth; yet he advises them to follow the Dictates of their own Avarice, and only to consult their proper Interest and Advantage. For he protests on the Faith of an honest Man, that the more he ranged and saw of the Country, the more he admired it; and that having seen the best Parts of *Europe*, yet he declares, with a solemn Asseveration, that put them all together, he thought, this Country would be equivalent to them, if it were once well cultivated, and seated with good and industrious People.

1614. Sir *Thomas Dale*, Governor.

EARLY in the next Year, Sir *Thomas Gates* returned to *England*, and left the Government again to Sir *Thomas Dale*. Understanding, that there was a Colony of *French*, in the *Northern* Part of *Virginia*, about the Latitude of 45, he sent Captain *Argall* thither, to *Port Royal* and *St. Croix*, two Towns, lying on each Side of the Bay of *Fundi*, in *Acadia*. Finding the *French* dispersed abroad in the Woods,

Woods, he surprised their Ship and Bark, lately arrived from *France*. In them was much good Apparel, with other Furniture and Provision, which he brought to *James-Town*; but the Men escaped, and lived among the *Indians* of those Countries. The Pretence for this Depredation on the *French*, was founded on their Right of first Discovery; and therefore the *English*, in Imitation of the *Spaniards*, laid Claim to the whole Continent, altho' they really possessed, and had seated so small a Part of it. But it is certain, that we were, at that time, in profound Peace, not only with *France*, but the whole World. In his Return, Captain *Argall* likewise visited the *Dutch* Settlement, on *Hudson*'s River; and he alledged, that Captain *Hudson*, the first Discoverer, under whose Sale they claimed that Country, being an *Englishman*, and licensed to discover those *Northern* Parts, by the King of *England*, could not alienate that, which was only a Part of *Virginia*, from the *English* Crown. He therefore demanded the Possession; and the *Dutch* Governor, being unable to resist, peaceably submitted both himself and his Colony, to the King of *England*, and to the Governor of *Virginia* under him. Soon after, a new Governor arrived from *Amsterdam*, better provided. Under Colour of their Right of Purchase, and because the Country lay void and unoccupied, and consequently open to the first Possessor, he not only refused to pay the Tribute and Acknowledgment, which had been agreed upon, but also began to fortify, and put himself into a Posture of Defence. And the Claim of the *English*, being either wholly waved for the present, or but faintly pursued, they, this same Year, made a firm Settlement, which soon became very flourishing and populous. But Complaint being made, some Years after, to King *Charles* I. and by him represented to the States of *Holland*, they declared, by a publick Instrument, that they were no ways concerned in it, but that it was a private Undertaking of the *West-India* Company of *Amsterdam*; and so referred it wholly to his Majesty's Pleasure.

1614. Sir *Thomas Dale*, Governor.

MR. *Ralph Hamer*, who was afterwards one of our Council, and to whose Relation we are indebted for this Part of the History of *Virginia*, having resided some Years here, ever since the great Supply 1609, and being now about to return to *England*, was very desirous to visit *Powhatan* and his Court, and to be able, when he went home, to speak something of his own Knowledge. Sir *Thomas Dale* also thought it advisable, to have some further Pledge of *Powhatan*'s Friendship, besides *Pocahontas*. It was therefore resolved, to send this Gentleman, as his Ambassador,

1614. to demand his other Daughter. Wherefore, Mr. *Hamer*, taking *Thomas Savage* for his Interpreter, and two *Indians* for his Guides, went off in the Morning from *Bermudas*, (Sir *Thomas Dale*'s favourite Seat, and chief Place of Residence) and arrived the next Evening at *Matchot*. This was a Seat of the King's, where he then was, a few Miles higher up *York* River, than *Werowocomoco*. *Powhatan* knew the Boy, *Thomas Savage*, well, whom *Newport* had presented to him, in the Year 1607; and he said to him: *My Child, you were my Boy, and I gave you Leave, four Years ago, to go and see your Friends; but I have never seen nor heard of you, nor my own Man* Namontack *since, altho' many Ships have gone and returned.* Then turning to Mr. *Hamer*, he demanded the Chain of Pearl, which he sent to Sir *Thomas Dale*, when the Peace was concluded; and which was to be a Token between them, whenever Sir *Thomas* sent a Messenger to him; otherwise, he was to bind him, and send him back, as a Deserter. It was true, there was such an Agreement; and Sir *Thomas Dale* had ordered his Page to deliver the Chain to Mr. *Hamer*, but the Page either neglected or forgot it. Mr. *Hamer* therefore replied, that he knew not of any such Order; and if there was such a Token, it was only intended, when Sir *Thomas*, upon the sudden, should send an *English* Messenger, without an *Indian* Guide. But if his own People should conduct the Messenger, which was the Case at present, that was a sufficient Testimony and Credential. With this Answer *Powhatan* was satisfied, and conducted them to his House, where a Guard of two hundred Bowmen attended. First he offered Mr. *Hamer* a Pipe of Tobacco, and then asked after his Brother, Sir *Thomas Dale*'s Health; and how his Daughter, and unknown Son, lived and liked. And being told, that his Brother was well; and that his Daughter was so delighted with her Condition, that she would not, upon any Account, return and live again with him, he laughed heartily, and seemed much pleased to hear it.

Sir *Thomas Dale*, Governer.

AFTER that, he demanded of Mr. *Hamer* his Business; who telling Him, that it was private, he instantly commanded all out of the House, except his two Queens, that always sat by him, and then bad him speak on. Mr. *Hamer* first presented him with several Toys, sent by Sir *Thomas Dale*; and then he told him, that his Brother *Dale*, having heard of the Fame of his youngest Daughter, intended to marry her to some worthy *English* Gentleman, which would be highly pleasing and agreeable to her Sister, who was very desirous to see her, and to have her near her;

her; and that therefore, he desired, as a Testimony of his Love, that he would send her to him. For since they were now become one People, and designed to dwell together in the same Country, he conceived, there could be no firmer Union, nor stronger Assurance of Love and Friendship, than such a natural Band of Intermarriage and Alliance. *Powhatan*, who often interrupted him, and betrayed many Signs of Uneasiness, the whole Time, he was speaking, immediately returned this Answer, with much Seriousness and Gravity. 1614. Sir Thomas Dale, Governor.

I gladly accept my Brother's Salute of Love and Peace; which, whilst I live, I will punctually and exactly keep. I likewise receive his Presents, as Pledges thereof, with no less Thankfulness. But as to my Daughter, I told her, a few Days since, to a great Werowance, for two Bushels of Roanoke. Mr. *Hamer* told him, that the Roanoke was but a Trifle to so great a Prince; and by returning it, he might recall her, and gratify his Brother. And he further assured him, besides strengthening the strict Band of Peace and Friendship between them, that he should have three times the Worth of the Roanoke for her, in Beads, Copper, and other Commodities. This extorted the Truth from him; and he ingenuously confessed, that the Reason of his Refusal, was the Love, he bore his Daughter. Altho' he had many Children, yet he delighted in none, he said, so much as her; and he could not possibly live without often seeing her; which he could not do, if she lived among the *English*. For he had determined, upon no Terms, to put himself into their Hands, or come among them. He therefore desired him, to urge him no farther upon the Subject, but to return his Brother this Answer: *That he held it not a brotherly Part, to endeavour to bereave him of his two darling Children at once: That, for his Part, he desired no farther Assurance of his Friendship, than the Promise, he had given: and, That from him, Sir* Thomas *already had a Pledge, one of his Daughters, which, as long as she lived, would be sufficient; but if she should happen to die, he promised to give another. And further,* says he, *tell him, altho' he had no Pledge at all, yet he need not distrust any Injury from me or my People. There hath been enough of Blood and War. Too many have been slain already, on both Sides; and, by my Occasion, there shall never be more. I, who have Power to perform it, have said it. I am now grown old, and would gladly end my Days in Peace and Quietness; and altho' I should have just Cause of Resentment, yet my Country is large enough, and I can go from you. And this Answer, I hope, will satisfy my Brother.*

1614. Sir *Thomas Dale*, Governor.

WHILST Mr. *Hamer* ſtaid here, by Chance there came an *Engliſhman*, who had been taken, three Years before, at *Fort Henry*, on the Mouth of *Hampton* River. He was grown ſo like an *Indian*, both in Complexion and Habit, that he could be diſtinguiſhed from them by nothing but his Language. He begged of Mr. *Hamer*, to procure his Liberty; which, with much Difficulty, he did. And now being about to return, *Powhatan* deſired him, to put his Brother *Dale* in Mind, to ſend him ſeveral Toys and Tools; which, leſt he ſhould forget, he made him write them down, in a Table-Book, that he had. However he got it, it was a very fair one; and Mr. *Hamer* deſired, he would give it to him. But he told him, he could not part with it: For it did him much Good, in ſhewing to Strangers. After which, having furniſhed them well with Proviſions, he diſmiſſed them; giving each a Buckſkin, extremely well dreſſed, and ſending two more, to his Son and Daughter.

ALL this while, Sir *Thomas Dale*, Mr. *Whitaker*, Miniſter of *Bermuda-Hundred*, and Mr. *Rolfe*, her Huſband, were very careful and aſſiduous, in inſtructing *Pocahontas* in the Chriſtian Religion; and ſhe, on her Part, expreſſed an eager Deſire, and ſhewed great Capacity in learning. After ſhe had been tutored for ſome time, ſhe openly renounced the Idolatry of her Country, confeſſed the Faith of Chriſt, and was baptized by the Name of *Rebecca*. But her real Name, it ſeems, was originally *Matoax*; which the *Indians* carefully concealed from the *Engliſh*, and changed it to *Pocahontas*, out of a ſuperſtitious Fear, leſt they, by the Knowledge of her true Name, ſhould be enabled to do her ſome Hurt. She was the firſt Chriſtian *Indian* in theſe Parts, and perhaps the ſincereſt and moſt worthy, that has ever been ſince. And now ſhe had no Manner of Deſire, to return to her Father; neither could ſhe well endure the bruiſh Manners, or Society, of her own Nation. Her Affection to her Huſband was extremely conſtant and true; and ſhe, on the other Hand, underwent great Torment and Pain, out of his violent Paſſion, and tender Sollicitude for her.

WHILST theſe things were tranſacting in *Virginia*, Captain *Smith*'s reſtleſs and enterpriſing Genius could not brook a Life of Indolence and Inactivity at home. He therefore undertook a Voyage for ſome Merchants, to that Part of *Virginia*, which had been diſcovered by Captain *Goſnold*, in the Year 1602. Having made an advantageous Voyage for his Owners, and taken an exact Chart of the Coaſt, he then firſt called the Country *New-England*. This Name was afterwards confirmed and eſtabliſhed by Prince *Charles*, who likewiſe, at Captain *Smith*'s Deſire, gave

Names

Names to several Places and Rivers along the Coast, from *Cape Cod* as far as the Bay of *Fundi*. It was resolved, to settle the Country immediately, under the Conduct of Captain *Smith*; who was graced with the empty Title of Admiral of *New-England*. But he meeting with many cross Accidents the next Year, and being at last taken by a *French* Rover, the Project became abortive; and it was the Year 1620, before any Settlement was made there. 1614. Sir *Thomas Dale*, Governor.

THIS Year also, Sir *Walter Raleigh* first published his History of the World; which was received with all due Applause and Admiration by the Publick, but gave Umbrage, we are told, to the King. Some Authors have insinuated, that that Royal Pedant was piqued, as an Author, and jealous of him in that Capacity. As if it would ever come into any Man's Head, to put that admirable Work in the Ballance with his old-wifish Garrulities; which are now only to be found in the Collections of the Curious, as a comic and ridiculous Entertainment, and a proper Subject for Laughter and Contempt. Others say, that he was scandalized at the Freedom, which Sir *Walter Raleigh* had taken with some dead Princes, and particularly with *Henry* VIII; thinking it perhaps an unpardonable Insolence, and a Kind of Blasphemy, that any, below a Crowned Head, should dare to censure their Actions. Whilst others tell us, that, through the mischievous Insinuations of some Sycophants about him, he suspected, that it contained an artful Exposure of himself and Ministry. And thus truly, as Mr. *Oldys* observes, the General History of the World was turned into a secret History, or oblique Satire, upon his Court; and *Scotch* Faces were to be seen in it, stuck upon old *Jewish*, *Babylonian*, or *Assyrian* Shoulders. Altho', as it is remarked by another Author, he might easily be led to fancy, he saw in the Face of *Ninias*, the Son of *Semiramis*, his own Features, as Successor to the *British Semiramis*; and that his particular Injustice, to the Writer, was well represented and censured, in the Story of *Ahab*'s taking away *Naboth*'s Vineyard. But from whatever Cause his Offence arose, I thought, it would not be unacceptable to the Reader, to make this short Digression, to the Honour of that immortal Work. For next to the Praise and Approbation of the Wise, it hath been ever esteemed a secondary Honour to an Author, to be carped at, by the foolish Cavils, and vain Exceptions, of those of a contrary Character.

IN *June*, Captain *Argall* set Sail for *England*, and gave an Account of the quiet and flourishing State of the Colony; which Report was strengthened by the Testimony of Sir *Thomas Gates*, who had returned from *Virginia*, the *March* before.

1615. Sir *Thomas Dale*, Governor.

before. To back this Succeſs with all Expedition, the Council and Company reſolved, that the great *Virginia* Lottery ſhould be drawn, with all convenient Speed; which was accordingly done, the following Year 1615. The ſame Year, a *Spaniſh* Ship was ſeen to beat to and fro, off *Point Comfort*; and at laſt, ſhe ſent a Boat aſhore, for a Pilot. Captain *Davies*, the Governor of the Fort, readily granted one, and ſent Mr. *John Clarke*; who was no ſooner on board, but they ſet Sail, and carried him off to *Spain*. He was there ſtrongly ſollicited, to become their Inſtrument and Pilot, to betray the Colony. But he bravely and honeſtly reſiſted all their Temptations; and was, therefore, obliged to undergo a long Captivity. At laſt, after four Years Impriſonment, he was, with much Suit, returned to *England*. But the *Spaniſh* Ship, by ſome Accident, left three of her own Men behind; who were immediately ſeized, and ſtrictly examined. They ſaid, that having loſt their Admiral, they were forced into theſe Parts; and that two of them were Captains, and in chief Authority in the Fleet. But ſometime after, one was diſcovered to be an *Engliſhman*; who had been a Pilot in the *Spaniſh Armada*, in the grand Expedition againſt *England*, in the Year 1588. And not content with this Perfidy and Baſeneſs to his Country, he began here to plot, and perſuaded ſome Malecontents, to join with him, in running away with a ſmall Bark. But they were apprehended, and ſome of them executed; and he, now lying at Mercy, readily confeſſed, that there were two or three *Spaniſh* Ships at Sea, ſent purpoſely to diſcover the State of the Colony. But he ſaid, their Commiſſion was not to be opened, 'till they arrived in the Bay; ſo that, of any thing further he was utterly ignorant. One of the *Spaniards* died here, and the other was ſent to *England*. But this Renegado was hanged at Sea, by Sir *Thomas Dale*, in his Voyage homeward.

1616. *George Yeardley*, Governor.

FOR Sir *Thomas Dale* had now been five Years in the Country; and he had been, for ſome time paſt, kept here, and ſupported under a longing Deſire to viſit his own Affairs and Family, by a juſt Senſe of his Duty to God and his Country, and out of Compaſſion to the poor Creatures committed to his Charge. But now the Country being in perfect Peace, and having ſettled all things in good Order, and made Choice of Mr. *George Yeardley*, to be Deputy-Governor in his Abſence, he embarked for *England*, with *Pocahontas* and Mr. *Rolfe* her Huſband; and carrying with them ſeveral young *Indians* of both Sexes, they all arrived ſafe at *Plimouth*, the 12th of *June*, 1616. But at the time of his Daughter's Departure, *Powhatan* had withdrawn himſelf

himself to the King of *Moy-umps*, on *Patowmack* River; out of Fear, as it was supposed, of *Opechancanough*. For he was then a Man very gracious and popular, both with the *Indians* and the *English*; and as *Opitchapan*, the second Brother, was lame and decrepit, he was thought to look upon *Powhatan*, a Person of equal Ambition and Capacity for Government, as the only Obstacle to his aspiring Hopes and Designs. And therefore, *Powhatan* suspected at this time, that he had entered into a Conspiracy with the *English*, to betray him into their Hands; a Case, which he had ever dreaded, and which, he had therefore turned the whole Force of his Politicks, to prevent and avoid. 1616. *Geo. Yeardley*, Governor.

THIS worthy and honourable Knight, Sir *Thomas Dale*, who may justly be ranked among the first and best of our Governors, had, by his singular Vigor and Industry, and by his Judgment and Conduct of the Affairs of the Colony, put things into such an easy and prosperous Condition, that, from this Time, an Alteration was made, in the Right of Adventure for Land. For before this, every one, that had adventured his own Person, or had sent, or brought others over, at his own Expence, was entitled to an hundred Acres of Land, personal Adventure, for each; which was the utmost that could be granted in any single Share, by the King's Letters patent, and which are called, in the Company's Journals, and other old Records, Great Shares, or Shares of old Adventure. But now it was thought, all Difficulties were so far overcome, and the Country settled in such a Way of subsisting and flourishing, that, henceforward, fifty Acres only were allowed to those, who came, or brought others over. This is the ancient, legal, and a most indubitable Method of granting Lands in *Virginia*, and was intended for a great and useful End, the encouraging People, to come themselves, and to bring or send others over, to inhabit the Country; and that they might, immediately upon their Arrival, have a Place, whereon to seat themselves and Families. And I likewise find, in the old Records, that upon peopling and saving these hundred, or fifty Acres (the Terms of which I can no where find) they were entitled to the like Quantity more, to be held, and seated at their Leisure. But besides this, there were two other Methods of granting Lands. The one was upon Merit: When any Person had conferred a Benefit, or done Service, to the Company or Colony, they would bestow such a Proportion of Land upon him. However, to prevent Excess in this Particular, they were restrained, by his Majesty's Letters patent, not to exceed twenty great Shares, or two thousand Acres, in any of these Grants. The other was

1616. was called the Adventure of the Purſe; every Perſon, who paid twelve Pounds ten Shillings into the Company's Treaſury, having thereby a Title to an hundred Acres of Land, any where in *Virginia*, that had not been before granted to, or poſſeſſed by others.

Geo. Yeardley, Governor.

SIR *Thomas Dale*, among the many Praiſes, juſtly due to his Adminiſtration, had been particularly careful of the Supplies of Life; and had, accordingly, always cauſed ſo much Corn to be planted, that the Colony lived in great Plenty and Abundance. Nay, whereas they had formerly been conſtrained, to buy Corn of the *Indians* Yearly, which expoſed them to much Scorn and Difficulty, the Caſe was ſo much altered under his Management, that the *Indians* ſometimes applied to the *Engliſh*, and would ſell the very Skins from their Shoulders for Corn. And to ſome of their petty Kings, Sir *Thomas* lent four or five hundred Buſhels; for Repayment whereof the next Year, he took a Mortgage of their whole Countries. But as the Cultivation of Tobacco began to creep in, and to obſtruct their Crops of Corn, he made a Law, that no Tobacco ſhould be ſet, 'till ſuch a Proportion of Corn-Ground, for the Maſter and each Servant, had been firſt prepared and planted. And this was the firſt Beginning and Eſſay, towards making Tobacco here, which hath ever ſince continued the Staple-Commodity of our Country. But after his Departure, both his Law and his Example were utterly laid by and forgot; and the new Governor himſelf, together with all the People, being tempted with the View of preſent Gain, applied themſelves ſo eagerly to planting Tobacco, that they neglected the other neceſſary Article of Life. And beſides this Neglect of their Corn, the Supplies of People, ſent this Year, came, as uſual, ſo unprovided, that they ſoon eaſed them of the Plenty, left by Sir *Thomas Dale*, and reduced them to great Streights. Mr. *Yeardley* therefore, ſent to the *Chickahominies*, for the Tribute Corn. For there being about two hundred and fifty, or three hundred, fighting Men of the Nation, and each Man being obliged, by the Treaty, to bring two Buſhels of Corn to the Store, ſuch a Quantity would have been a great Relief to their Neceſſities. But receiving a ſlight and affrontive Anſwer, he drew together an hundred of his beſt Shot, and went to *Chickahominy*.

THE People there received him with much Scorn and Contempt. They told him, he was only Sir *Thomas Dale*'s Man; that they had indeed paid his Maſter, according to Agreement; but as for him, they had no Order, and leſs Inclination, either to obey, or give him any Corn. And being

being led by their Captain, *Kiſſanacomen*, Governor of *Ozinies*, they drew themſelves up, in martial Rank and Order, as they ſaw the *Engliſh* do. But after many Remonſtrances, and much Bravade and Threatening on both Sides, Mr. *Yeardley*, at laſt, commanded his Men to fire upon them. Twelve were ſlain, and as many taken Priſoners; among whom, were two of their Senators, or Elders. For their Ranſom, they had an hundred Buſhels; and the *Indians*, to buy their Peace, readily loaded their three Boats with Corn; one of which, crowding on, to bring the firſt News to *James-Town*, was unhappily overſet, all her Corn loſt, and eleven Men drowned. 1616. *Geo. Yeardley*, Governor.

Opechancanough, a politick and haughty Prince, was much vexed, that neither his Brother, nor he, could ever bring this obſtinate People, firmly to their Obedience. Being, therefore, as attentive to enſlave them, as they were watchful and tenacious of their Liberty, he took this Opportunity, and agreed with Mr. *Yeardley*, to come to no Terms with them, without his Advice and Conſent. And as the *Engliſh* paſſed down the River with their Priſoners, he met them at *Ozinies*, and pretended to the *Indians*, that he had, with great Pains and Sollicitation, procured their Peace. To requite which Service, they chearfully proclaimed him King of their Nation, and flocked, from all Parts, with Preſents of Beads, Copper, and ſuch other Trifles, as were in Value and Eſteem among them. And he was glad, to be content with this precarious Acknowledgment, from a free and reſolute People. But this ſeaſonable and vigorous Chaſtiſement of the *Chickahominies*, and eſpecially the ſtrict League and Friendſhip, with *Opechancanough*, and the whole Imperial Family, kept the reſt of the *Indians* in ſuch Awe and Dependance, that the *Engliſh* followed their Labours, with the utmoſt Quietneſs and Security. Many alſo of the Savages daily brought them ſuch Proviſions, as they could get; and would be their Guides in hunting, and ſometimes hunt for them themſelves. And thus, by ſuch an Intercourſe and Familiarity, the *Engliſh* and they lived together, the reſt of this Gentleman's Government, as if they had been one People. And Captain *Smith* tells us, that Mr. *Yeardley* had ſome trained to their Pieces to kill him Fowl, as had likewiſe ſeveral other Gentlemen in the Country; and that theſe ſoon became as dextrous and expert, as any of the *Engliſh*. But the Captain's Authority is rendered very ſuſpicious in this, by the Records of our General Court. For long after, the Governor and Council received ſome Queries from *England*, the fourth whereof was: *What was the Cauſe of the Maſſacre, and who firſt taught*

the

1616. *the* Indians *the Use of Fire Arms?* Whereupon, in a Court held the 1st of *November*, 1624, *Robert Poole* and *Edward Grinden*, Gentlemen, ancient Planters and Inhabitants of the Country, appear, and declare, upon Oath, their Knowledge of the Matter. Their Depositions entirely clear Mr. *Yeardley*, and shew him to have been very cautious and careful in that Point; and they throw the whole Blame upon Captain *Smith* himself, Sir *Thomas Dale*, and some other inferior Officers and private Persons.

Geo. Yeardley, Governor.

In the mean while, *Pocahontas*, or the Lady *Rebecca*, as they now affected to call her, was kindly received in *England*. She was, by this time, well instructed in Christianity, spoke good and intelligible *English*, and was become very civil and ceremonious, after the *English* Fashion. She was likewise delivered of a Son, of which she was extremely fond; and the Treasurer and Company gave Order, for the handsome Maintenance of both her and her Child. Besides which, her Company was courted, and she kindly treated, by many Persons of highest Rank and Quality in the Nation. There hath been indeed a constant Tradition, that the King became jealous, and was highly offended at Mr. *Rolfe*, for marrying a Princess. That anointed Pedant, it seems, had so high an Idea of the *Jus divinum*, and indefeasible Right, of *Powhatan*, that he held it a great Crime and Misdemeanor, for any private Gentleman to mingle with his Imperial Blood. And he might perhaps likewise think, consistently with his own Principles, that the Right to these Dominions would, thereby, be vested in Mr. *Rolfe*'s Posterity. However, it passed off, without any farther bad Consequence, than a little Displeasure and Murmuring.

At the time of *Pocahontas*'s Arrival, Captain *Smith* was preparing for a Voyage to *New-England*. He was much concerned, that the Suddeness of his Departure put it out of his Power, to do her that Service, which he desired, and she well deserved at his Hands. However, being well acquainted at Court, and particularly favoured and countenanced by Prince *Charles*, he drew up, and presented to the Queen, before her Arrival in *London*, a Representation of her Case and Desert. In this, he expresses a deep Sense of Gratitude to her; and sets forth her great Affection, and many Services, to himself, and the whole *English* Nation: That by her, their Quarrels had oft been appeased, their Wants supplied, and their Dangers averted: That she, under God, had been the chief Instrument, of preserving the Colony, and confirming the Settlement: That being taken Prisoner, she had become the Means of a firm Peace and Alliance, with her Father: That she was now married to

an

an *Engliſh* Gentleman; who, however, was not of Ability, to make her fit to attend her Majeſty: That ſhe was the firſt Chriſtian, that ever was of that Nation; and the firſt *Virginian*, that ever ſpoke, or became *Engliſh*: That being well received, and honoured by ſo great a Queen, beyond what her ſimple Thought could imagine or conceive, ſhe might be the Means of adding another Kingdom, to his Majeſty's Dominions: But by bad Uſage, her preſent Love, to the *Engliſh* and Chriſtianity, might be turned to Scorn and Fury; and all the Good, ſhe had, or might do, diverted to the worſt of Evil. And therefore, he humbly recommends her to her Majeſty, as a proper Object of her Favour and Regard, on Account of her Birth, Virtue, Simplicity, and forlorn Condition in a ſtrange Country. 1616. *Geo. Yeardley*, Governor.

BUT before Captain *Smith*'s Departure, *Pocahontas* came up to *London*. Being offended by the Smoke of the Town, ſhe was immediately removed to *Brentford*; whither *Smith*, with ſeveral of his Friends, went to viſit her. After a cold and modeſt Salutation, ſhe turned from him in a paſſionate Manner, hid her Face, and could not be brought to ſpeak a Word for two or three Hours. But at laſt, ſhe began to talk; and ſhe reminded him, of the many Services, ſhe had done him, and of the ſtrict Promiſe of Friendſhip, between him and her Father. *You*, ſays ſhe, *promiſed him, that what was yours, ſhould be his; and that you and he would be all one. Being a Stranger in our Country, you called* Powhatan *Father*; *and I, for the ſame Reaſon, will now call you ſo.* But Captain *Smith*, knowing the jealous Humour of the Court, durſt not allow of that Title, as ſhe was a King's Daughter; and therefore, he endeavoured to excuſe himſelf from it. But ſhe, with a ſtern and ſteady Countenance, ſaid: *You were not afraid to come into my Father's Country, and ſtrike a Fear into every Body, but myſelf; and are you here afraid, to let me call you Father? I tell you then, I will call you Father, and you ſhall call me Child; and ſo I will for ever be of your Kindred and Country. They always told us, that you were dead; and I knew no otherwiſe, 'till I came to* Plimouth. *But* Powhatan *commanded* Tomocomo *to ſeek you out, and know the Truth; becauſe your Countrymen are much given to Lying.*

THIS *Tomocomo* (or *Uttamatomakkin*, as *Smith* calls him) had *Matachanna*, one of *Powhatan*'s Daughters, to Wife; was one of the chief of his Council, and of their Prieſts; and was eſteemed a very wiſe and underſtanding Fellow among them. He was therefore ſent upon this Voyage, by *Powhatan*, to take the Number of the People in *England*, and to bring him a full and exact Account, of their Strength and

1616. *Geo. Yeardley*, Governor.

and Condition. And accordingly, being arrived at *Plimouth*, he got a long Stick, intending to cut a Notch, for every one, he saw. But he was soon tired with such an endless Work, and threw away his Stick; and being asked, by the King, after his Return, how many People there were? it is said, that he replied: *Count the Stars in the Sky, the Leaves on the Trees, and the Sand upon the Sea Shore; for such is the Number of the People in* England. But Sir *Thomas Dale* told Mr. *Purchas*, that he believed him to be sent by *Opechancanough*, their King and Governor in *Powhatan*'s Absence and Retreat; and that he was sent, not so much to number the People, as to take an Account of their Corn and Trees. For *Namontack*, and such others, as had been sent to *England* formerly, being ignorant and silly, and having seen little else besides *London*, had reported much of their Men and Houses, but thought, they had small Store of Corn and Trees. And it was therefore a general Opinion among these Barbarians, that the *English* came into their Country, to get a Supply of these; which might be strengthened and confirmed, by their sending large Quantities of Cedar, Clapboard, and Wainscot, to *England*, and by their continual Want and Eagerness after Corn. But *Tomocomo*, landing in the *West*, and travelling thence to *London*, was soon undeceived, and saw great Cause, to admire the *English* Plenty. However, he began to take an Account, untill his Arithmetick failed him. Meeting Captain *Smith* accidentally in *London*, they soon renewed their old Acquaintance. He told the Captain, that *Powhatan* had commanded him, to find him out, to shew him the *English* God, their King, Queen, and Prince; of which he had told them so much. As to God, Captain *Smith* excused and explained the Matter, the best, he could; and as to the King, he told him, that he had already seen him, and should see the rest, whenever he pleased. But he denied, that he had seen the King, 'till, by Circumstances, he was convinced and satisfied. And then, with a melancholly Countenance, he said: *You gave* Powhatan *a white Dog, which he fed as himself; but your King has given me nothing, and yet I am better, than your white Dog.* Such an arch Sense had this Barbarian, of the stingy Treatment, with which he had been received at Court.

HOWEVER, *Pocahontas* was eagerly sought, and kindly entertained every where. Many Courtiers, and others of his Acquaintance, daily flocked to Captain *Smith*, to be introduced to her. They generally confessed, that the Hand of God did visibly appear, in her Conversion; and that they had seen many *English* Ladies, worse favoured, of less ex-

act Proportion, and genteel Carriage, than she was. She was likewise carried to Court, by the Lady *Delawarr*, attended by the Lord, her Husband, and divers other Persons of Fashion and Distinction. The whole Court were charmed and surprised, at the Decency and Grace of her Deportment; and the King himself, and Queen, were pleased, honourably to receive and esteem her. The Lady *Delawarr*, and those other Persons of Quality, also waited on her, to the Masks, Balls, Plays, and other publick Entertainments; with which she was wonderfully pleased and delighted. And she would, doubtless, have well deserved, and fully returned, all this Respect and Kindness, had she lived to arrive in *Virginia*. 1616. *Geo. Yeardley*, Governor.

THE Lord *Rich* was one of the Company in *England*; a great and powerful, but a most designing, interested, and factious Member. Not content with that lawful and regular Advantage, which might be justly expected, in a due Course of Time, from the Enterprise, but aiming at a sudden and extraordinary Profit, altho' it should be, by the Spoil of the Publick, and Oppression of the private Planters, and being likewise egged on and assisted, by some corrupt and avaritious Persons, he threw himself at the Head of a Faction in the Company, and drew over to his Party, as many Creatures and Dependents, as he possibly could. By their Means and Support, he hoped and endeavoured, to bear such a Sway, both in the *Virginia* and *Somer-Islands* Company, that the Management of all things at home, and the Placing all Governors abroad, should be entirely in his Power and Disposal. And altho' he met with a Check in his Designs, from many great and worthy Members, and a vast Majority of the whole Companies, yet he did, at this time, carry a very important Point. Captain *Samuel Argall*, a Friend and Relation of Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Treasurer, was one of Lord *Rich*'s fastest Friends and Favourites. His Lordship therefore, having concerted Matters with him, and entered into a Partnership, procured him to be elected Deputy-Governor of *Virginia*. And altho' Martial Law was then the Common Law of the Country, yet the better to arm and strengthen him, with the Exercise of such a despotic Authority, and that no Man here might dare to open his Mouth against him, he obtained for him the Place of Admiral of the Country and Seas adjoining.

WITH these Views and Powers, was Captain *Argall* fitted out, and sent to *Virginia*, in the Beginning of 1617. And the Treasurer and Council took Care, for the proper Accommodation of *Pocahontas* and her Husband, on board 1617. *Sam. Argall*, Governor.

1617. *Sam. Argall*, Governor.

the Admiral Ship. Mr *Rolfe* was alſo made Secretary and Recorder-General of *Virginia*, which Place was now firſt inſtituted. But it pleaſed God, at *Graveſend*, to take *Pocahontas* to his Mercy, in about the two and twentieth Year of her Age. Her unexpected Death cauſed not more Sorrow and Concern in the Spectators, than her religious End gave them Joy and Surpriſe. For ſhe died, agreeably to her Life, a moſt ſincere and pious Chriſtian. Her little Son, *Thomas Rolfe*, was left at *Plimouth* with Sir *Lewis Steukley*, who deſired the Care and Education of him. This Gentleman was then Vice-Admiral of the County of *Devon*; but ſoon after, having ſeiſed Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and been guilty of a notable Piece of Treachery towards him, he drew upon himſelf the publick Scorn and Deteſtation. For however hard or unjuſt Kings and Stateſmen may be to thoſe Perſons of their Age, who are of the moſt eminent Parts and Virtues, the Publick is generally more candid in it's Judgments, and apt to reſent every Hardſhip or ill Uſage to ſuch Men. Sir *Lewis Steukley* therefore fell unpitied, when he was afterwards detected in corrupt Practices; for which he was obliged to purchaſe his Life at the Expence of his whole Fortune, and at laſt died, a poor, deſpiſed, and diſtracted Beggar. And as theſe Misfortunes happened ſoon after this Time, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that young Mr. *Rolfe* long enjoyed the Advantage of his Favour and kind Intentions. However he was carried up to *London*, and there educated by his Uncle Mr. *Henry Rolfe*, and afterwards became a Perſon of Fortune and Diſtinction in this Country. He left behind him an only Daughter, who was married to Col. *Robert Bolling*; by whom ſhe left an only Son, the late Major *John Bolling*, who was Father to the preſent Col. *John Bolling*, and ſeveral Daughters, married to Col. *Richard Randolph*, Col. *John Fleming*, Dr. *William Gay*, Mr. *Thomas Eldridge*, and Mr. *James Murray*. So that this Remnant of the Imperial Family of *Virginia*, which long ran in a ſingle Perſon, is now encreaſed and branched out into a very numerous Progeny.

BUT Governor *Argall*, with his Vice-Admiral Captain *Ralph Hamer*, purſued their Voyage to *Virginia*, where they arrived in *May*. He found all the publick Works and Buildings in *James-Town* fallen to Decay; not above five or ſix private Houſes fit to be inhabited; the Market-place, Streets, and all other ſpare Places, planted with Tobacco; and the Colony diſperſed all about, as every Man could find the propereſt Place, and beſt Conveniency, for Planting. But ſoon after his Arrival, he wrote to *England*, that the Colony was in great Peace and Plenty, and the People buſily

busily employed, in preparing for their Crops of Corn and Tobacco. With him returned *Tomocomo*, who, in our old Records, is called by a third Name, *Tomakin*. Captain *Argall* sent him immediately to *Opechancanough*, who came to *James-Town*, and received a Present, with great Joy and Thankfulness. *Tomocomo* railed violently against *England*, and the *English*; and particularly, against his best Friend, Sir *Thomas Dale*. But all his Reports were so clearly disproved before *Opechancanough* and his Grandees, that much to the Satisfaction of the Grandees, he was rejected and disgraced. But *Powhatan*, all this while, leaving the Care and Charge of the Government chiefly to *Opechancanough*, went about from Place to Place, taking his Pleasure, and visiting the different Parts of his Dominions. However he still continued in good Friendship with the *English*. He greatly lamented the Death of his Daughter; but rejoiced, that her Child was living. He also, as well as *Opechancanough*, expressed much Desire to see him; but determined, that he ought not to come over, before he was stronger. And, this Year, one Mr. *Lambert* made a great Discovery, in the Trade of Planting. For the Method of curing Tobacco then was in Heaps. But this Gentleman found out, that it cured better upon Lines; and therefore the Governor wrote to the Company, to send over Line for that Purpose. 1617. *Sam. Argall*, Governor.

CAPTAIN *Argall* was a Man of Sense and Industry; and therefore, to secure a Plenty of Provisions, he sent out, the next Year, a Frigat and a small Bark to trade, which brought near six hundred Bushels of Corn, to the great Relief of the Colony. For the Company's Servants, that worked for the Store, were reduced to fifty four, Men, Women, and Children. But from the Farmers, who were at Captain *Argall*'s Arrival eighty one, and from the *Indians*, as Tribute, they received annually above twelve hundred Bushels. But this Year, there was a great Drought, with a dreadful Storm, that poured down Hail-stones, eight or nine Inches round, which did much Damage to both Corn and Tobacco. However, what Tobacco could be saved, was made up, the best at three Shillings a Pound, and the rest at eighteen Pence. The Governor also published several Edicts: That all Goods should be sold at twenty five *per Cent*, and Tobacco allowed for at three Shillings a Pound, and not under nor over, on the Penalty of three Years Slavery to the Colony: That there should be no private Trade or Familiarity with the Savages: That no *Indian* should be taught to shoot with Guns, on Pain of Death to Teacher and Learner: That no Person 1618.

1618. *Sam. Argall,* Governor.

ſhould hunt Deer or Hogs, without the Governor's Leave: That all Hogs, found a ſecond time in *James-Town*, ſhould be forfeited to the Colony; and thoſe at *Bermuda*, ringed: That no Man ſhould ſhoot, except in his own neceſſary Defence againſt an Enemy, till a new Supply of Ammunition came in, on Pain of a Year's Slavery: That none ſhould go on board the Ship, then at *James-Town*, without the Governor's Leave; and that no Maſters of Ships ſhould ſuffer their Sailers to go aſhore, or talk with the People at *Kicquotan*: That every Perſon ſhould go to Church, *Sundays* and Holidays, or lye Neck and Heels that Night, and be a Slave to the Colony the following Week; for the ſecond Offence, he ſhould be a Slave for a Month; and for the third, a Year and a Day.

THE Lord *Delawarr*, who had withdrawn from the Government on Account of his Health, and whoſe Commiſſion, as Captain-General, was ſupreme, and ſuperſeded all others, being ardently wiſhed for by the Colony, was now ſent by the Council and Company, in a large Ship, with a Supply of two hundred People. But meeting with contrary Winds and much bad Weather, many fell ſick, and thirty died. In this Number was the Right Honourable, the Lord Governor himſelf; a Perſon of a moſt noble and generous Diſpoſition, who had warmly embarked, and expended much Money, in this Buſineſs, for his Country's Good. *Cambden* tells us, that he had been feaſted at the *Weſtern-Iſlands*, and that his Death was not without ſuſpicion of Poiſon. And I think I have ſomewhere ſeen, that he died about the Mouth of *Delawarr* Bay, which thence took it's Name from him. But being not able, now to recollect the Authority, I ſhall leave it, as I found it, and not venture poſitively to affirm it. After his Death, they were forced on the Coaſt of *New-England*; where they got a Recruit of Wood and Water, and took ſuch an Abundance of Fiſh and Fowl, as plentifully ſerved them to *Virginia*. They likewiſe here met a ſmall *Frenchman*, rich in Bever and other Furrs, who feaſted them with ſo great a Variety of Fiſh, Fowl, and Fruits, that they were all amazed; little ſuſpecting, that wild Deſert could afford ſuch a wonderful Plenty of delicate and wholeſome Food. This Ship bringing News, that Multitudes were preparing in *England* to be ſent, Captain *Argall* called a Council, and wrote to the Treaſurer and Council in *England* the State of the Colony; and what Miſery muſt neceſſarily enſue, if they ſent not Proviſions, as well as People. And he likewiſe repreſented their Want of ſkilful Huſbandmen, with Shares, Harneſs, and other Implements for Ploughing.

For

For their Land was exceeding good, and they had now about forty Bulls and Oxen, which were wholly idle and uſeleſs, for want of ſkilful Men to bring them to Labour. However, I find, in our old Records, that ſome Ploughs, by this time, were ſet to work. 1618. *Sam. Argall* Governor.

ONE *Richard Killingbeck*, this Summer, attempting a ſecret Trade with the *Indians*, was, together with his whole Company, ſlain by a Party of the *Chickahominies*; who fearing the Conſequences, robbed the *Matchacomco* Houſe of their Town, and fled. This was their Temple and religious Treaſury; held, to the higheſt Degree, ſacred and inviolable by the *Indians*. And the *Sunday* after, they ſlew two Boys and three young Children, within a Mile of *James-Town*, while their Parents were at Church. The Governor therefore ſent to *Opechancanough*, who had the Title of their King, and the Power too, as far as Neceſſity conſtrained, or it ſuited with their Humour or Intereſt. But he excuſed the Nation from the Guilt, and laid the whole Blame upon ſome fugitive Robbers; of whoſe Town he ſent him a Baſket of Earth, as Poſſeſſion given; and promiſed, to ſend their Heads alſo for Satisfaction, as ſoon as they could poſſibly catch them. But this he never performed; and conſidering the Perfidy of his Nature, and the exterminating Hatred, he always bore to the *Engliſh*, it is much to be queſtioned, whether he was not privy to, or perhaps the chief Author and Contriver of the whole Matter. However, by theſe Acts of Hoſtility and Barbarity, the whole Nation was rendered obnoxious to the *Engliſh* Power and Reſentment, and his Regal Authority thereby firmly riveted and eſtabliſhed among them. Altho' the Governor, being ſatisfied with this Pretence and Excuſe, never farther proſecuted, or revenged, this perfidious Murder and Breach of the Peace.

CAPTAIN *Argall*, all this time, was not negligent or forgetful of the grand End of his coming to *Virginia*, but puſhed on his unrighteous Gains, by all imaginable Methods of Extortion and Oppreſſion. For beſides a Multitude of private Wrongs to particular Perſons, he converted in a manner wholly to his own Uſe and Poſſeſſion, whatſoever remained, at that time, belonging to the Publick, being the Fruits and Relicts of eighty thouſand Pounds Expence. So that he was loudly charged, with many Offences in Matter of State and Government, with Depredation and Waſte of the publick Eſtate and Revenues of the Company, and with great Oppreſſion of the Colony in general, as well as ſeveral private Men in particular. And the Cries of his Outrages and Rapine at laſt became ſo loud and numerous,

and

1618. *Sam. Argall* Governor.

and the Company in *England* was so enraged at the Reports and Informations, they received, that they could scarce be restrained from flying to the King, for the Redress of so many and so great Mischiefs. But Sir *Thomas Smith*, whether in Favour to Captain *Argall*, his Kinsman, or out of his real Judgment, alledged, that imploring his Majesty's Aid might prove prejudicial to the Company's Power, and of dangerous Consequence to their Liberties; and might also give Room to much publick Scandal and Reflection. And therefore he proposed a milder and less clamorous Way of Proceeding.

To this End, he himself, Alderman *Johnson*, the Deputy-Treasurer, Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, and others of the Council, wrote Captain *Argall* a Letter, dated the 23d of *August*, 1618; charging him, in very sharp and severe Terms, with many Crimes and Misdemeanors: That he was exceedingly chargeable to the Company, and converted the Fruits of their Expence to his own private Use: That he was grown so proud and insolent, as to scorn the Title of Deputy-Governor, declaring, that he would be no Man's Deputy: That he wronged the Magazine, by his Negligence and Connivency: That he had appropriated the *Indian* Trade to himself; using the Company's Frigat and other Vessels, together with their Men, to trade for his own Benefit, and prohibiting the Trade of Skins and Furs to all others: That he took the old Planters, who ought to be free, as well as the Company's Tenants and Servants, and set them upon his own Employments: That he expended the publick Store-Corn, to feed his own Men: That he had, for some private End and Purpose of his own, informed the Company, that *Opechancanough* and the Natives intended to give their Country to Mr. *Rolfe*'s Child, and to reserve it from all others, 'till he came of Age: That he neither looked into, nor regarded, their Instructions; but had, under Pretence of their Commission, disposed of all the Company's Cattle, against their Express Orders and Directions, and had converted the Profits thereof to his own Use: That he had, under Colour of his Right, as Admiral, seised and detained some Hides, unlawfully taken or purchased, for which the Company had compounded, with the Lord High Admiral and the *Spanish* Ambassador, at the great Expence of four hundred Pounds: And in short, that all his Actions and Proceedings seemed to be, as if the Colony was wholly intended for his private Gain and Advantage, and as if he was so great, and they so mean and insensible of Reason, as to let things, of this publick and notorious Nature, pass off without a strict and exact Account;

up-

upbraiding him also with these ungrateful Returns to their Favour and Friendship, in procuring him the Government. 1618.

AT the same time, they wrote a Letter to my Lord *Delawarr*, whose Death was yet unknown in *England*, containing the like Heads of Complaint and Accusation against Captain *Argall*; and informing him, that by the strange Insolence of his last Letter, and by the Informations of sundry Witnesses, lately come from *Virginia*, there was more Discontent raised in the Adventurers, and more Danger feared to the Colony, than had ever happened, by any other thing, since the first Beginning of the Enterprise. So that the Adventurers could hardly be restrained from going to the King, altho' far off on a Progress, and procuring his Majesty's Command, to fetch him home as a Malefactor. But to avoid farther Scandal to their Management and Administration, they beseech his Lordship, to send him forthwith to *England*, to make his personal Appearance, and to give his Answers to such things, as should be laid to his Charge. And forasmuch as it was conceived, that there would be many things, for which he must make Satisfaction to the Company, they desired his Lordship, to seise upon his Tobacco, Skins, Furs, and other Goods, to be sent to them as a Depositе, till all Matters should be satisfied and adjusted; and that he would likewise return the Cattle, and other publick Goods, which he had embezzled, to their proper Places and Owners. And at the same time, there was an Order of Court passed in *England*, to sequester all Captain *Argall*'s Effects, which should be sent home, to make Restitution to the Company for his Rapines and Extortions. *Sam. Argall* Governor.

THESE Letters, coming, by Lord *Delawarr*'s Death, to Captain *Argall*'s Hands, were so far from diverting or repressing his Exhorbitances, that they seemed, only to put him upon his Guard, and to render him the more eager and studious to make the best Use of his Time. For my Lady *Delawarr* complained, that he wrongfully took some of her Goods from her late Husband's Servants, without rendering any Account of them. And indeed he had, in general, assumed to himself a Power, of ordering and disposing of his Lordship's Estate, setting his Tenants and Servants to his own Work, and thereby ruining and depopulating a very large and hopeful Plantation, begun by his Lordship. But one Captain *Edward Brewster*, alledging Lord *Delawarr*'s Order, for their being under his Management and Direction, endeavoured to withdraw them from the Governor's Work, and to employ them, for the Maintenance of themselves, and for the Benefit of his Lordship's Heirs,

1618. *Saw. Argall* Governor.

Heirs and Fellow-Adventurers. But one of them refuſed to obey him, which drew from him ſome threatening Expreſſions againſt the Fellow. This he immediately ran with to the Governor; who being drunk with Power, and impatient of Oppoſition, (a Diſtemper, very incident to our *American* Viceroys) and being alſo vexed perhaps, to find any one dare to withſtand his arbitrary Schemes of Gain, he cauſed Captain *Brewſter* to be ſeiſed, tried by a Court Martial, and condemned to Death.

THE Legality of this Proceeding was founded on an Article of the Martial Laws of the Low Countries, introduced among thoſe Articles, ſent over by Sir *Thomas Smith*. This decreed, "That no Man ſhould offer any Violence, "or contemptuouſly reſiſt or diſobey his Commander, or "do any Act, or ſpeak any Words, which might tend to "breed Diſorder or Mutiny, in the Town or Field, or "diſobey any principal Officer's Directions, upon Pain of "Death." But altho' it was evident from his Majeſty's Charter, that the Governor had Power to execute Martial Law only in Times of Mutiny and Rebellion, in like Manner as Lords Lieutenants in *England* had, and that in all other Caſes, as well civil as criminal, their Proceedings were to be as agreeable, as conveniently might be, to the Laws, Statutes, Government, and Policy of the Realm of *England*; and altho' it was as evident, that there was at that time no Pretence of Rebellion or Mutiny, but the Colony enjoyed an univerſal Peace and Tranquility; yet was this innocent Gentleman's Condemnation moſt unmercifully driven on, and his Life ſubjected to the Pleaſure of a furious and enraged Enemy. And this, not in an Affair of publick Concern, but in a Diſpute of private Right; and when it did not appear, that he had uttered any thing againſt the Governor, but only ſome threatening Language againſt a Servant, that diſobeyed his lawful Commands. And the whole was carried on and tranſacted, under Colour and Pretence of a Law, which could have no legal Force or Validity in the *Britiſh* Dominions. Altho' it muſt be confeſſed, that Martial Law was then the reigning Law of *Virginia*, to the great Diſcouragement of the Colony, and to the manifeſt Infringement of the Rights and Liberties of the People, as *Britiſh* Subjects. And this Courſe, at times introduced and uſed from the firſt, as being in a State of War and Danger, was firmly riveted and confirmed by thoſe bloody Articles, ſent in by Sir *Thomas Smith*, which were unfortunately, at their firſt coming, applied to a good Purpoſe and Effect by Sir *Thomas Dale*, in quelling the diſorderly and mutinous Humours of the Peo-

ple.

ple. And thus, by this Example and Authority, and by eaſy Acquieſcence and Ignorance in the People of their native Rights and Privileges, it was made the ſtanding Rule of Proceeding, and became the Common Law and Cuſtom of the Country. 1618. *Sam. Argall* Governor.

BUT ſome of the Court, reflecting on the extreme Severity of theſe Martial Laws, and being alſo moved perhaps by the particular Hardſhip and Unrighteouſneſs of the preſent Caſe, prevailed on the reſt, to go in a Body, and intercede for Captain *Brewſter*'s Life. And being alſo joined by ſuch of the Clergy, as were at Hand, they did, with much Intreaty, and after many Repulſes and Allegations of Captain *Argall*, at laſt prevail to ſave his Life. But it was upon this expreſs Condition, that he ſhould take a ſolemn Oath, neither directly nor indirectly, in *England* or elſewhere, to utter any contemptuous Words, or do any thing elſe, that ſhould turn to the Diſhonour or Diſparagement of Captain *Argall*; and that he ſhould never return more to *Virginia*, by any direct or indirect Means. All which was this poor Gentleman, a Perſon of ſome Figure and Conſideration, obliged to ſubmit to, to reſpite and put off an immediate Execution. But after his Return to *England*, being deeply ſenſible of this oppreſſive and injurious Treatment, as alſo to clear his Reputation, and to wipe off the Stain of being a condemned Man, he appealed from the Sentence of the Court Martial in *Virginia*, to the Treaſurer and Company in *England*. And the Proſecution of this Appeal did greatly contribute, to ſhew and expoſe the extreme Rapiciouſneſs and tyrannical Adminiſtration of Captain *Argall*.

A Ship, called the *Treaſurer*, was alſo, this Year, ſent from *England* by the Lord *Rich*, who was now become Earl of *Warwick*, a Perſon of great Note afterwards in the Civil Wars, and commander of the Fleet againſt the King. He had aſpired to the Title of Earl of *Clare*; but that being then eſteemed the ſame with *Clarence*, and a Royal Title, it was judged too high an Honour for a Family in a Manner new and upſtart, and that of *Warwick* conferred upon him. This Ship was here new victualled, and manned with the ſtouteſt and ableſt Recruits, that could be picked out of the whole Colony. And then, under Colour of an old Commiſſion of Hoſtility from the Duke of *Savoy*, againſt the *Spaniards*, which they had by ſome Means procured, ſhe was ſent to rove on the *Spaniſh* Dominions in the *Weſt-Indies*; where ſhe committed much Ravage, and gained ſome Booty. But they had the Conſcience even to defraud the Mariners, who afterwards made Complaint to the Com-

1618. Company, that they had cheated them of their Share of the Negroes taken; all which were placed on the Earl of *Warwick*'s Lands in *Bermudas*, and there kept and detained to his Lordſhip's Uſe. And this Proceeding was eſteemed, not only a manifeſt Act of Piracy, but alſo a thing of great Danger to the Colony, conſidering our weak Condition at that time, and the great Strength of the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*. Mr. *Beverley* alſo gives a particular Account of an Expedition, made this Year by Captain *Argall* in Perſon, to diſlodge the *French* at *St. Croix* and *Port-Royal* in *Acadia*. But as I cannot find the leaſt Mention of it, in any contemporary Writer, or in any of the old Records, that I have peruſed and examined, I am apt to think, he is miſtaken in the Time, and confounds this with the Expedition, he made under Sir *Thomas Dale*, in the Year 1614.

Sam. Argall Governor.

BUT the Company in *England*, receiving Advice of Lord *Delawarr*'s Death, and finding, that Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Project had thereby failed of Succeſs, came to a Reſolution of ſending over a new Governor, with Power to examine all Complaints and Accuſations againſt Captain *Argall* upon the Spot. And therefore Captain *Yeardley*, who was upon this Occaſion knighted, was choſen Governor and Captain-General, and ſent upon this Buſineſs. But Captain *Argall*, in the mean while, was fully appriſed, by the Earl of *Warwick* and others, his Aſſociates in *England*, of every thing, that had paſſed in their Courts concerning himſelf. Wherefore, to prevent the Seiſure of his Goods, he conſigned all his Effects, under other Men's Names, and into the Hands of great and powerful Perſons. And as to thoſe Goods, which were ſent home, before he knew of the Order to ſequeſter them, the Earl of *Warwick*, by his Intriguing and Intereſt, got them all into his own Hands, under Pretence of taking out the Share, which belonged to him by his Right of Partnerſhip, and upon expreſs Promiſe, to return the reſt into the Company's Hands. But this Promiſe he could never be brought to perform; ſo that the Company were deprived of the Means to right themſelves, and defrauded of that juſt Reſtitution, which they had great Reaſon to expect and demand.

THIS Year 1618 is likewiſe memorable, for the Death of two Perſons of principal Figure in the *Virginian* Hiſtory. The firſt of theſe was *Powhatan*, Emperor of the *Indians*, a Prince of excellent Senſe and Parts, and a great Maſter of all the Savage Arts of Government and Policy. He was penetrating, crafty, inſidious, and cruel; and as hard to be deceived by others, as to be avoided in his own Stratagems and Snares. But as to the great and moral Arts of Policy,

Policy, such as Truth, Faith, Uprightness, and Magnanimity, they seem to have been but little heeded or regarded by him. He was succeeded in his Dominions, according to the regular Order of Succession, by his second Brother, *Opitchapan*; who is sometimes called *Itopatin*, and *Oeatan*. And now upon his Accession to the supreme Power, he again changed his Name to *Sasawpen*, as *Opechancanough* did his to *Mangopeeomen*. Upon what Reason of Custom, or Dignity, or Humour, these Changes were made in their Names, I cannot say; but to avoid Confusion, I shall take no Notice of such nominal Differences, but shall always speak of the same Person by the same Name. *Opitchapan*, being an easy, decrepit, and unactive Prince, was soon obscured by the superior Parts and Ambition of his younger Brother, *Opechancanough*; whose Figure and Activity first drew the Attention, and at last, by degrees, engrossed the whole Power of the Government; altho' for some time, he was content with, and seemed chiefly to affect, the Title of *King of Chickahominy*. However they both renewed and confirmed the League with the *English*; under the Protection of which, every Man peaceably followed his Building and Planting, without any remarkable Accidents or Interruption. 1618. *Sam. Argall* Governor.

THE other Person was Sir *Walter Ralegh*, the Father and first Mover of these *American* Colonies; to whom we owe our Name, as we do our Settlement also to the Prosecution of his Design. In *October* this Year, he ended a Life of much Glory and Adversity, on the Scaffold, to the everlasting Infamy and Reproach of King *James*. For he was a Person of very great Worth, and of a vast and most extensive Genius; being equally fitted, to shine in every Part of Life, or Branch of Art, to which he applied himself. And he was accordingly alike famed, as a Seaman, a Soldier, a Statesman, and a Scholar. He was therefore universally pitied and lamented, and even interceded for by several Princes; by the Queen, Prince *Henry*, the King of *Denmark*, and King of *France*, whose Agent in *England*, even at the last, endeavoured to contrive his Escape. But King *James*, perversely bent on the Wrong, could, by no means, be prevailed upon, to spare the greatest and wisest Head in his Dominions; but shamefully made him a Sacrifice to his darling Dotage, the *Spanish* Match, a Measure weak in itself, but prosecuted and carried on, with still greater Weakness and Indiscretion. But his Death hath been so often deplored and condemned, that I shall not add to the general Complaint any farther, than by making some brief Extracts out of a Letter, preserved by Mr. *Rushworth* in

1618. in his Collections, to shew the shameful Cruelty and Injustice of the Act.

Sam. Argall Governor.

THIS Letter is written, by a great Minister of State in *England*, to Mr. *Cottington*, afterwards Lord *Cottington*, the *British* Resident at the Court of *Spain*. In it he complains, as by Order from the King, of the Insincerity and Chicanry of the *Spanish* Court in that Affair, and sets forth the upright and sincere Intentions of his Majesty. And he says, that he is particularly commanded by his Majesty, to advertise him of the Execution of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who was lately put to Death, chiefly for their Satisfaction, and concerning whom he promises speedily to send a Declaration: That, to please them, his Majesty of late had, in many things, strained upon the Affections of his People; and most especially, in this last of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who died with great Courage and Constancy, and had raised much Remorse and Compassion in the People, who all attributed his Death, to the *Spanish* Machinations, and his Majesty's Desire to do them a Pleasure: And further, he orders him, strongly to insist upon and represent, how able a Man Sir *Walter Ralegh* was to have served his Majesty, if he had been pleased to have employed him: And that yet, to give them Content, he had not spared him, altho' he might, by saving his Life, have given infinite Satisfaction to his People, and have had at Command, upon all Occasions, as useful a Man, as served any Prince in Christendom.

THUS fell one of the last-surviving, and the brightest of all the Commanders, bred under Queen *Elisabeth*, and by her fleshed in *Spanish* Blood and Spoil. And what is the most reproachful Part of it, he fell a Victim to his own great Merit and Abilities, the Memory and Danger of which, to the *Spanish* Nation, had been revived, by his late Expedition to *Guiana*; as also, out of the old Grudge, for his many eminent Services, under his former Royal and illustrious Mistress, Queen *Elisabeth*, and to place him beyond a Possibility of ever rendering the like Services, to King *James* or his Son. As the King's whole Conduct towards him was a strange Medley of Injustice and Inconsistency, so was it smartly observed by his Son, *Carew Ralegh*; That his poor Father was first condemned, for being a Friend to the *Spaniards*, and afterwards lost his Life, by the same Sentence, for being their Enemy. He died, as he had lived, with great Lustre and Honour; with the Charity, Serenity, and Resignation of a Christian, joined to the Magnanimity and intrepid Courage of an old *Roman*.

IN

IN the Beginning of the Year 1619, Sir *George Yeardley* was dispatched and sent Governor, with divers Commissions and Instructions for proceeding against Captain *Argall* in *Virginia*, were the Facts were committed, and where the Proofs, on both Sides, might readily be had. The Earl of *Warwick* and his Faction had violently opposed this, but not being able to prevail, he was obliged to betake himself to other Measures. Mr. *Rolfe*'s Commission was either now expired; or else, as I rather believe, he had given Offence to the Company, and was turned out of his Place of Secretary. And this, I find some Reason to suspect, proceeded from his too great Submission and Subserviency to Captain *Argall*'s male Practices. But however that was, the Earl of *Warwick* obtained that Place from Sir *Thomas Smith*, for Mr. *John Pory*, who now went over with the Governor. For the Nomination to that Office was a Compliment, made by the Company to their Treasurer; till afterwards the Earl of *Southampton*, in the Time of his Treasurership, returned it back to the Company, and referred it wholly to their Choice. By the Means of this *Pory*, as it was vehemently suspected, the Earl of *Warwick* got the Ship so long stopped and retarded on the Coast of *England*, that he dispatched a small Bark, before from *Plimouth*, to fetch away Captain *Argall*, with all his Goods and Booty. This Bark arriving the Beginning of *April*, Captain *Argall* took immediate Order for his Affairs, and within four or five Days, embarked in her for *England*. He left Captain *Nathaniel Powel* Deputy-Governor; a worthy Gentleman, who had come in at the first with Captain *Smith*, and ever since continued, an honest and useful Inhabitant. But his Government was of very short Duration. For in ten or twelve Days after Captain *Argall*'s Departure, Sir *George Yeardley* arrived; and was received with the greater Joy and Welcome, as he brought with him several Charters from the Company, of Grants and Liberties to the Colony. For the honester Part and Majority of the Company, being alarmed at these late Proceedings, resolved to be more attentive to the Affair, and to prevent all such Exorbitancies for the future. One of these Charters only have I seen, containing Directions to the Governor and Council of State, to lay off Lands for several publick Uses; and likewise confirming Titles, and ascertaining the Methods of obtaining Lands in *Virginia*, and for preventing fraudulent and surreptitious Grants; two of which, of a very extraordinary and inconvenient Nature, had been obtained by Captain *Martin* and Captain *Argall*. But Sir *George Yeardley*, having thus narrowly missed of the Quarry, applied himself to the

1619. Sr *George Yeardley*, Governor.

1619. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

the Affairs of Government. And firſt he added the following Gentlemen to the Council; Captain *Francis Weſt*, Captain *Nathaniel Powel*, Mr. *John Pory*, Mr. *John Rolfe*, Mr. *William Wickham*, and Mr. *Samuel Macock*. For although Captain *Powel* had been appointed Deputy-Governor, yet was he not of the Council. For, till this time, the Governors, in Caſe of their Abſence, always aſſumed to themſelves the Power of naming their Deputies. Soon after Sir *George* publiſhed his Intention, of holding a General Aſſembly in a ſhort time; which, I ſuppoſe, was one of the chief Privileges and Powers, granted and ſent over with him. And I likewiſe find, by an Inſtrument of Writing to one *Richard Kingſmil*, that he had a Power to grant, and accordingly did grant, to all the ancient Planters, who had been here before Sir *Thomas Dale*'s Departure, a full Releaſe and Diſcharge from all further Service to the Colony, excepting only ſuch Services, as they ſhould willingly undertake, or were bound in Duty to perform by the Laws of all Nations; together with a Confirmation of all their Eſtates real and perſonal, in as full and ample Manner, as the Subjects of *England* held and enjoyed them. And this Precaution was undoubtedly occaſioned by Captain *Argall*'s Rapines, and many perſonal Impoſitions on the ancient Planters and Freemen of the Colony.

THE Earl of *Warwick* was highly incenſed at theſe late Proceedings againſt Captain *Argall*; and finding Sir *Thomas Smith* not ſtanch, and fit for his Purpoſe, he purſued, with great Vehemence, the Removal of him and Alderman *Johnſon*, the Deputy, from the Government of the Company. Thoſe two Gentlemen had alſo given much Offence, to the greater and better Part of the Adventurers; and lay under a ſtrong Suſpicion, as well of Negligence in their Office, as of Colluſion and unfair Dealing. Sir *Thomas Smith* too himſelf, being far advanced in Years, of tender Health, and very rich, was willing to ſurrender a Place, of ſo great Trouble and Fatigue, and ſo little fair Profit. And therefore, being already Governor of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and lately appointed a Commiſſioner of his Majeſty's Navy, he declared, at a Quarter Court, held the 28th of *April*, that he was unable to give that Attendance, which he deſired, and which the Affairs of the Company demanded; and for that reaſon, requeſted the Favour of them, to be diſcharged from his Office. And altho' he was afterwards named by ſome to be a Candidate, yet he was fixed in his Reſolution, and abſolutely refuſed to ſtand in Election. In his Room, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Sir *John Wolſtenholme*, and Alderman *Johnſon*, were propoſed; and the Choice fell on

Sir

Sir *Edwin Sandys*, he having fifty nine Voices, Sir *John Wolſtenholme* twenty three, and Alderman *Johnſon* eighteen. Sir *Edwin* was a Gentleman of *Kent*, and a Member of Parliament; a Perſon of excellent Underſtanding and Judgment; of great Induſtry, Vigor, and Reſolution; and indefatigable in his Application to the Buſineſs of the Company and Colony. He had, before this, on Account of his Induſtry and Knowledge of their Affairs, been often joined, by the Courts, with Sir *Thomas Smith*, in the Management of ſeveral weighty things, relating to the Colony. So that ſcarce any thing, whilſt he was in Town, paſſed without him. But he afterwards complained, that what was done, during his Abode in Town, was commonly undone, when he was abſent in the Country. Mr. *John Farrar*, an eminent Merchant of *London*, with a like Majority, was choſen Deputy-Treaſurer; a worthy Second to Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and every way fit for the Poſt, conferred upon him. 1619. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

BUT not to caſt off an old Servant with Diſregard, who had, in the Time of greateſt Trouble and Difficulty, continued above twelve Years in the principal Office of the Company, at the Motion of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, twenty great Shares, or two thouſand Acres of Land, were beſtowed, as a Gratuity, upon Sir *Thomas Smith*. But there was not the leaſt Notice taken, or Reward given, to Alderman *Johnſon*. And theſe Alterations in the Government of the Company gave not only much Satisfaction in *England*, but were alſo received with great Joy in *Virginia*; where the old Officers had been long and bitterly exclaimed againſt, by the general Voice of the Colony. But the Earl of *Warwick* was ſo far from gaining by the Change, that he had now a Perſon of much greater Honour and Integrity, and a Gentleman of principal Figure and Intereſt in the Nation, to oppoſe his Schemes and Deſigns. For altho' Sir *Edwin Sandys* was much wronged in the Execution of his Office, and even ſought to be deterred by Threats of Blood, yet they could no way turn him, from a vigorous Proſecution and Enquiry into the late Diſorders in *Virginia*. At the Expiration of Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Government, after fourſcore thouſand Pounds Expence and twelve Years Labour, the Colony conſiſted of about ſix hundred Perſons, Men, Women, and Children. And they had about three hundred Head of Cattle, ſome Goats, and infinite Numbers of Hogs, both wild and tame. But all the Company's Lands and Plantations were utterly ruined and depopulated by Captain *Argall*, there being only three Tenants left thereon, and ſix Men of what he called his Guard. And notwithſtanding Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Boaſt, that he had left

1619. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

left four thousand Pounds, for the new Treasurer to procced upon, yet it was found, upon Examination, that the Company was above that Sum in Debt. However Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and all the founder and more publick-spirited Part of the Company, applied themselves, with a laudable Diligence and Industry, to reform the Abuses, and by all the Methods, they could devise, to set forward and advance the Plantation.

SIR *George Yeardley*, upon his Arrival in *Virginia*, finding a great Scarcity of Corn, made it his first Care to supply that Defect. And therefore he wrote to the Treasurer and Company in *England*, to excuse him, if he made not such Returns in Tobacco, this Year, as might be expected. For he was determined, by the Blessing of God, to raise such a plentiful Crop of Corn, that the Colony should not, in haste, be in any further Danger of Want. And about the latter End of *June*, he called the first General Assembly, that was ever held in *Virginia*. Counties were not yet laid off, but they elected their Representatives by Townships. So that the Burroughs of *James-Town*, *Henrico*, *Bermuda Hundred*, and the rest, each sent their Members to the Assembly. And hence it is, that our Lower House of Assembly was first called the House of Burgesses, a Name proper to the Representatives of Burroughs or Towns; and it hath, by Custom, ever since retained that Appellation, altho' the Burgesses, or Members for Towns and Corporations, are very few and inconsiderable at present, in Comparison of the Representatives for Counties. Mr. *Beverley* says, they sate in the same House with the Governor and Council, after the Manner of the *Scotch* Parliament; and we are told by *Smith*, that they debated all Matters, thought expedient for the Good of the Colony. The Acts of this General Assembly were remitted to *England*, and presented to the Company, to be read in their Court, the 20th of *March* following. For the Company then had the regal Power of confirming, or disanulling our Acts of Assembly. I can no where find, among the Records now extant, any Account of the Particulars, that passed. Only Sir *Edwin Sandys*, upon Perusal of them, assures the Company, that they were very well and judiciously formed; but they were very intricate, and difficult to be reduced into distinct and proper Heads.

HOWEVER we may be certain of this happy Effect, that by the Introduction of the *British* Form of Government, by Way of Parliament or Assembly, the People were again restored to their Birthright, the Enjoyment of *British* Liberty; and that most grievous and oppressive Custom of

Trial

Trial by Martial Law was thereby, if not at once, yet by Degrees, entirely baniſhed and aboliſhed. It is true indeed, that before, both by the Royal Charters, and by all other Law and Reaſon, the *Engliſh*, tranſplanted hither, had a Right to all the Liberties and Privileges of *Engliſh* Subjects. And certainly no Perſon, in his Senſes, would have left the Liberty of *England*, to come hither (in order to improve the Commerce, and increaſe the Riches of the Nation) to a State of Slavery; when without that, it was natural to ſuppoſe, that they muſt undergo much Hardſhip and Labour. Yet by the Neceſſity of the Times, by the Ignorance of the People, and by the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of Governors, they had, thus far, been deprived of that their native Right. But with the *Engliſh* Form of Government, the *Engliſh* Liberty again revived and flouriſhed; and together with the Nation, they now tranſplanted and diffuſed into *America* their moſt happy Conſtitution. From this Time therefore, we may moſt properly date the Original of our preſent Conſtitution, by Governor, Council, and Burgeſſes; which altho' defective perhaps in ſome material Points, yet comes ſo near to the excellent Model of the *Engliſh* Government, that it muſt be the hearty Prayer and Deſire of all true Lovers of their Country, that it may long flouriſh among us and improve. For this happy Change, we are chiefly indebted to the Change of the Officers and Governors of the Company in *England*, and to the Activity and Attention of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and many other worthy Members of the Company, to the Affairs of the Colony.

1619. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

THIS Summer, they laid off four new Corporations; which encreaſed the Number of their Burroughs, that had Right to ſend Members to the Aſſembly, to eleven in all. And *Japazaws*, the King of *Patowmack*, came to *James-Town*, and invited the *Engliſh* into his River to trade; for a more plentiful Year of Corn had not been known, in a long time. But Captain *Ward*, being ſent thither, was treacherouſly dealt with by the Natives; and the thing coming to open Hoſtility, he took from them eight hundred Buſhels by Force, and ſo returned to *James-Town*. One Captain *Stallings*, this Year, had the Misfortune, firſt to have his Ship caſt away, and not long after to be ſlain, in a private Quarrel, by *William Eppes*. And the whole Colony laboured under ſo great a Mortality, that no leſs than three hundred of the Inhabitants died within the Year. But in Mitigation of this, they had the moſt plentiful Crop of Grain, that had ever yet been raiſed, ſince the firſt Plantation of the Country. And indeed the Company received ſuch an Account of it, as will not eaſily gain Credit; which

1619. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

I therefore leave entirely to the Reader's good Pleasure, to believe or disbelieve, as he thinks fit; neither should I have related it, had I not found it authentically recorded, in the Company's Journals. For by Letters from *Virginia*, they were informed, that they had had two Harvests of Wheat, the first being shaken by the Wind, and producing a second; and their Ground was so extraordinary fat and good, that they planted *Indian* Corn upon the Stubble, and had an excellent Crop of that. But it must be remembered, that rare-ripe Corn was the Corn of those Times, and that they usually had two Crops of it in a Year.

WHILST things were in this State in *Virginia*, Sir *Edwin Sandys* was, by no means, idle or negligent of his Charge in *England*. For turning the whole Bent of his Thoughts, towards the Improvement and Furtherance of this noble Enterprise, he got a Committee appointed, consisting of Sir *Dudley Digges*, Sir *Edward Harwood*, and divers other Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and Citizens, as well for compiling and reducing the standing Rules and Orders, for the Government of their own Company, into one entire Body, as more especially for constituting Laws, and settling a Form of Government for *Virginia*, appointing Magistrates and Officers, and declaring their several Functions and Duties. And this was one of the chief Powers and Injunctions of his Majesty's Letters patent and Instructions to the Company. As to the former Part, concerning the Government of themselves, it was easily brought to a tolerable Head. But the latter being a vast Design, of very great Weight and Difficulty, and comprehending no less, than a Project for rearing, constituting, and forming a compleat Commonwealth, in all its Parts, it never could, notwithstanding Sir *Edwin Sandys*'s great Pains and Diligence, be brought to any satisfactory Conclusion. So that *Virginia* was left to the best Means of forming its Government; that is to say, to work after the *English* Plan, with the Assistance of Time and Experience, and the united Sense and Endeavours of its Representatives and Officers of State.

THE King had formerly issued his Letters to the several Bishops of the Kingdom, for collecting Money, to erect and build a College in *Virginia*, for the training up and educating Infidel Children in the true Knowledge of God. And accordingly, there had been already paid near fifteen hundred Pounds towards it, and more was expected to come in. For besides other Particulars, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, upon some Conference with the Bishop of *Litchfield*, found, that he had never heard of any Collection in his Diocese; but he promised, as soon as he should have a Warrant, to further

ther so good a Design, with the utmost Diligence. Sir *Edwin* therefore recommended it to the Company, as a thing most worthy of their Consideration, both for the Glory of God, and their own Honour. And he told them, that it was an Affair of that Weight and Dignity, that they must expect to render an Accout of their Proceedings to the State; and that Negligence therein could never escape publick Notice and Censure, especially of those, who had generously contributed towards it. He therefore had Sir *Dudley Digges*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, Sir *John Wolstenholme*, Mr. Deputy *Farrar*, Dr. *Anthony*, and Dr. *Gulstone*, appointed a Committee, to meet, as he should order and direct, and to consult thereupon. And he likewise moved and obtained, that ten thousand Acres of Land should be laid off for the University at *Henrico*, a Place formerly resolved on for that Purpose. This was intended, as well for the College for the Education of *Indians*, as also to lay the Foundation of a Seminary of Learning for the *English*. In Consequence of these Resolves, Sir *Edwin* procured fifty Men to be sent this Summer, and fifty more the Beginning of the next Year, to be seated on these College Lands, as Tenants at Halves. They were to have half the Profit of their Labour to themselves, and the other half was to go, towards forwarding the Building, and the Maintenance of the Tutors and Scholars. And as a Man's Labour was then computed at ten Pounds *Sterling* a Year, it was intended, hereby to establish an annual Revenue of five hundred Pounds, for this good and pious Work. Mr. *George Thorpe* also, a Kinsman of Sir *Thomas Dale*'s, being a Gentleman of his Majesty's Privy Chamber, and one of the Council in *England* for *Virginia*, accepted of the Place, and was sent over the next Spring, as the Company's Deputy and Superintendent for the College. And for his Entertainment and Support, they granted three hundred Acres of Land, to be for ever annexed and belonging to that Place, with ten Tenants thereon. 1619. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

In a great and general Quarter Court of the Company, held in *November* this Year, Sir *Edwin Sandys* told them, that his Duty and Inclination running equally for the Advancement of this good Action, he had many things to lay before them. And accordingly, he reminded them, that the Maintenance of the Publick, in all States, was of no less Importance, even for the Benefit of private Men, than the Root and Body of a Tree are to the particular Branches. And he recalled to their Remembrance, how by the admirable Care and Diligence of two worthy Knights, Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *Thomas Dale*, the publick Estate and Revenue of the Company had been set forward, in a Way to great Perfection: That the former. Sir *Thomas Gates*, had

the

1619. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

the Honour to all Posterity, to be the first named, in his Majesty's Patent and Grant of *Virginia*, and was also the first, that by his Wisdom, Industry, and Valour, accompanied with exceeding Pains and Patience, in the Midst of many Difficulties, had laid the Foundation of the present prosperous State of the Colony: And the latter, Sir *Thomas Dale*, building upon those Foundations, with great and constant Severity, had reclaimed, almost miraculously, those idle and dissolute Persons, and reduced them to Labour and an honest Fashion of Life: That proceeding with great Zeal for the good of the Company, he had laid off publick Lands, to yield them a standing Revenue; placed Servants thereon, as also upon other publick Works, for the Company's Use; established an annual Rent of Corn from the Farmers, and of Tribute from the Barbarians; together with a great Stock of Cattle, Goats, and other Animals: That this had since been the Occasion of drawing so many private Plantations, to seat in *Virginia*; upon Hope and Promise of Plenty of Corn and Cattle, to be lent them by the Publick, for their Ease and Benefit, at their first Arrival: But that since their Times, all this publick Provision had been utterly laid waste and destroyed: And that besides, for about an hundred Persons, which appeared to have been sent, at the Company's Charge, within the two or three last Years, Sir *George Yeardley* wrote Word, that, at his Arrival, only three could be found, remaining to the Publick:

THAT as to the Means and Causes of these Dilapidations, he doubted not, but that hereafter, in due time, they would be made fully manifest; but that he forbore, at present to touch upon them, lest he should, by Glance of Speech, give Offence to any Person present (for Captain *Argall*, the known Author thereof, was then in Court) But as to the Remedies of these Mischiefs, he related to them, what Methods had been already taken. For whereas, not much above three Years before, there had been remitted from *Virginia* twelve several Commodities, sold openly in Court, to the great Honour of the Action, and Encouragement of the Adventurers; yet since that time, there had been little returned, worth speaking of, except Tobacco and Sassafras; to which the People there applied themselves so entirely, that they would have been reduced to the Necessity of starving, the last Year, had not the Magazine supplied them with Corn and Cattle from *England*: That this had been the Occasion of stopping and discouraging many Hundreds of People, who were providing to remove themselves thither: That frequent Letters had therefore been sent, from the Council there to the Governor in *Virginia*, to restrain that immoderate planting of Tobacco,

and

and to cauſe the People to apply themſelves to other and better Commodities: And that he had alſo, by the Advice and Conſent of the Council, and according to an Order now to be propoſed, cauſed to be drawn a new Covenant, to be inſerted in all future Grants of Land, that the Patentees ſhould not apply themſelves, wholly, or chiefly, to Tobacco, but to other Commodities, therein ſpecified; an Example whereof they would now ſee, in a Patent, lying before them for their Approbation. 1619. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

BUT altho' they had been, by no means, negligent in theſe Affairs, yet he ſaid, that his principal Care and Study had been employed, to ſet up again and reſtore the publick Stock and Revenue, to as great, or a greater Degree of Perfection, than they had heretofore been at. And to that End, he recounted, how three thouſand Acres of Land had been laid off, for the Governor; twelve thouſand for the Company; and ten thouſand, for the Univerſity at *Henrico*. And that ſeventy two Perſons had already been placed on the Company's Land, fifty three on the Governor's, and fifty on the College's; an hundred and ſeventy five in all. But not content with this, he told them, that he had ſtill ſome farther Propoſitions to make to them.

AND firſt, he propoſed to them, that theſe Tenants for the publick might, the next Spring, be encreaſed to the Number of three hundred; an hundred for the Company's Land, an hundred for the College, and an hundred for the Governor, who ſhould be obliged, at the Expiration of his Office, to leave the ſame Number to his Succeſſor; which would thereby raiſe a ſtanding Revenue of a thouſand Pounds a Year, and eaſe the Company of all further Expence for his Proviſion and Entertainment. And whereas Care had been, and ſtill ſhould be taken, during his Office, to ſend over to theſe Lands, divers ſtaid and diſcreet Perſons, he propoſed, in the ſecond Place, that an hundred Boys and Girls, of about twelve or thirteen Years of Age, might be ſent to be their Servants and Apprentices; in the Charge whereof, he hoped, that the honourable City of *London* would partake with the Company, as they had formerly done. And becauſe he underſtood, that the People in *Virginia*, tho' ſeated there in their Perſons for ſome few Years, yet were not ſettled in their Minds, nor intended to make it their Place of Reſt and Continuance, but propoſed, after having got ſome Wealth, to return again to *England*, which tended to the utter Overthrow and Diſſolution of the Plantation; he therefore adviſed, and made it his third Propoſition, that there ſhould be ſent over one hundred Maids, young and uncorrupt, to make Wifes for the Inhabitants;

1619.

Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

that Wives, Children, and Families, might render them leſs moveable, and fix and ſettle them, together with their Poſterity, in that Soil: And that ſuch of theſe Maids, as were married to the publick Farmers, ſhould be tranſported at the Company's Expence; but if any were married to others, that then thoſe, who took them to Wife, ſhould repay the Company their Charges of Tranſportation. And in Conſequence of this Propoſition, ninety Maids were accordingly ſent the following Spring. As to the Manner of tranſporting theſe Perſons, to make up five hundred in all for the Publick, he propoſed, in the fourth Place, that they ſhould not hire Shipping, as heretofore, ſince each Ship, at its Return, in bare Freight and Wages, emptied the publick Caſh of eight hundred, and ſometimes a thouſand Pounds; but that they ſhould, as he had already done this preſent Year, take the Advantage of the Ships trading to *Newfoundland*, and ſo tranſport them, at ſix Pounds a Perſon, without any after Reckonings. Fifthly, he propoſed, the ſending twenty Heifers, for every hundred Tenants, threeſcore in the whole; which, with their Breed, might ſoon raiſe them a tolerable Stock; and which he had Hopes of having tranſported, taking the Opportunity of Shipping in the *Weſtern* Parts, at ten Pounds a Head, to be delivered in *Virginia*.

LASTLY, as to the Charges, he obſerved to them, that there never could be a more proper Time, for ſuch large Tranſportations, than the preſent; Corn being ſo exceedingly cheap and plentiful at home, and there being, by their Advices from *Virginia*, ſo great Promiſes of an excellent Crop there. And he alſo ſhewed, how much the Company was bound, to give Thanks to Almighty God, for all his Bleſſings, who continually raiſed Means, to ſupport and carry on this great Work; and he particularly mentioned one unknown Gentleman alone, who promiſed five hundred Pounds, on Demand, for the Converſion and Education of threeſcore *Indian* Children; and that he had likewiſe, upon his Letters, received Aſſurance from ſundry Parts, and ſome of them very remote, that if they proceeded with the Undertaking, they ſhould not want for Money. But not to rely upon ſuch precarious Funds and Hopes, he related to them, particularly, the ſeveral Ways and Means, by which the Money would ariſe. And he eſtimated the whole Charge, at four thouſand Pounds, to be done ſparingly; and bountifully, at five thouſand. He alſo promiſed, not to leave the Company one Penny in Debt, for any Act or Thing, to be performed within his Year; and that he would moreover diſcharge three thouſand Pounds of former Debts,

Debts, according to the Stock, left at the time of his coming to his Place. And these things done, he hoped, the Publick would again be fully restored, a Foundation laid for a future great State, the Adventurers and Planters well comforted and encouraged, and all Matter of Scandal and Reproach to them and the Enterprise removed. And so he concluded, by recommending these Points to their most serious Consideration, and the whole Enterprise to the Blessing of Almighty God. These Propositions, which had been before made in two several Courts, and were now repeated at the particular Desire of some noble Lords present, were received with that Applause, they well deserved; and they passed, upon the Question, with an unanimous Approbation, altho' Sir *John Wolstenholme*, in a former Court, had made some vain Exceptions against them. And Sir *Edwin Sandys*, with an extreme Care and Diligence, saw them all afterwards put effectually into Execution. 1619. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

BUT besides these reputable People, to be transported at the Company's Charge, the Treasurer and Council received a Letter from his Majesty, commanding them, forthwith to send away to *Virginia* an hundred dissolute Persons, which Sir *Edward Zouch*, the Knight Marshal, would deliver to them. In Obedience to his Majesty's Command, it was resolved, to send them over with all Conveniency, to be Servants, which Mr. Treasurer understood, would be very acceptable to the Colony. But as it was *November*, and Shipping, at that Season, not easily procured, it was thought they could not be sent off before *January* at soonest. But to satisfy his Majesty, the Company agreed to be at the Expence of their Maintenance, in the mean while. The Treasurer was therefore desired, to deliver this their Answer to his Majesty, by Secretary *Calvert*. But he was told, that the King's Command was urgent, and admitted no Delay; and that fifty, at least, must with all Speed be shipped off. And notwithstanding his just Representations, how great Inconveniency and Expence would thence accrue to the Company; that they could not well go in less than four Ships, lest, being so many together, they should mutiny, and run away with the Vessel; that those four Ships, to be got thus suddenly, without taking Advantage of the Vessels trading to *America*, would not stand the Company in less than four thousand Pounds; and that, notwithstanding all, Ships were not to be procured so speedily, at that Time of the Year. Yet nothing, he could alledge, giving Satisfaction, the Company were obliged to appoint a Committee of the Deputy and other select Merchants, to employ all their Endeavours, for compassing Shipping, with all possible Speed.

1619. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

And by good Fortune, for the additional Premium of an hundred Pounds, they procured a large Ship, to carry them off; but which nevertheleſs could not ſail before *February*.

THOSE, who are acquainted with Hiſtory, and know, with how high and magiſterial a Hand, this King ſometimes carried it, even with his Parliaments, will not be ſurpriſed, to find him thus unmercifully inſult a private Company, and load them, againſt all Law, with the Maintenance and extraordinary Expence of tranſporting ſuch Perſons, as he thought proper to baniſh; and that perhaps, without any colourable Pretext, or ſufficient Warrant of Law at that time. And I cannot but remark, how early that Cuſtom aroſe, of tranſporting looſe and diſſolute Perſons to *Virginia*, as a Place of Puniſhment and Diſgrace; which altho' originally deſign'd for the Advancement and Increaſe of the Colony, yet has certainly proved a great Prejudice and Hindrance to it's Growth. For it hath laid one of the fineſt Countries in *Britiſh America*, under the unjuſt Scandal of being a mere Hell upon Earth, another *Siberia*, and only fit for the Reception of Malefactors and the vileſt of the People. So that few People, at leaſt few large Bodies of People, have been induced, willingly to tranſport themſelves to ſuch a Place; and our younger Siſters, the Northern Colonies, have accordingly profited thereby. For this is one Cauſe, that they have outſtripped us ſo much, in the Number of their Inhabitants, and in the Goodneſs and Frequency of their Cities and Towns.

HIS Majeſty had, by his Letters patent, bearing Date the 23d of *May* 1609, granted the Company a "Freedom "from all Cuſtom and Subſidy, for twenty one Years, ex- "cepting only five *per Cent.* upon all ſuch Goods and "Merchandiſes, as ſhould be imported into *England*, or "any other of his Majeſty's Dominions, according to the "ancient Trade of Merchants." Notwithſtanding this, which was intended for the Eaſe and Encouragement of the Infant Colony, the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, upon a general Rate made of Tobacco, both *Spaniſh* and *Virginia*, at ten Shillings the Pound, demanded ſix Pence a Pound, equally upon all; altho' *Spaniſh* Tobacco was uſually ſold at eighteen Shillings a Pound, and ſometimes more, and *Virginia* would ſeldom bear above three or four Shillings. Mr. *Jacob* alſo, Farmer of the Impoſt upon Tobacco, did moſt oppreſſively impoſe another ſix Pence a Pound, contrary to the clear and indubitable Tenor of his Majeſty's Grant. And the Company, in *June* this Year, importing twenty thouſand Weight, the whole Crop of the former Year,

Year, had delivered it all into the Cuſtom-Houſe, as they were required, that the Tobacco might be weighed, and the Cuſtom anſwered. But Mr. *Jacob*, of his own Authority, ſtopped and ſeiſed the Tobacco, till that Impoſt of ſix Pence a Pound ſhould be diſcharged. And this alſo will ſoon be perceived by thoſe, who are any thing verſed in the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, to be entirely conſonant to the Behaviour of the Cuſtomers then; whoſe Inſolence and arbitrary Proceedings, ſupported by the Royal Authority, and even encreaſed and carried to a greater Height in the next Reign, was one of the chief and moſt viſible Cauſes of the general Diſcontent of the Nation, and of the unhappy Civil War, which enſued. 1619. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

THE Company, being thus wronged and abuſed, applied themſelves to the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy Council, and obtained their Letter to Mr. *Jacob*, to deliver the Tobacco, upon their entering into Bond to pay him, whatſoever ſhould appear to be his due, upon Certificate from his Majeſty's learned Council, within a Month. But *Jacob* rejecting this, and all other Conditions offered by the Company, and likewiſe exacting twelve Pence a Pound at *Plimouth*, upon the *Somer-Iſlands* Tobacco, it was reſolved to try the Strength of their Charter, and to enter an Action againſt him for the Damage, which was already computed at two thouſand five hundred Pounds *Sterling*. But afterwards, conſidering, that their Commodity was very periſhable, and that their Suit could not be determined that *Michaelmas* Term, they altered their Method of Proceeding, and by the Advice of a great Lord of the Privy Council to Sir *Edwin Sandys*, they brought the Matter before the Council Board; where, upon the Attorney-General's delivering his Opinion clearly, that the Company, by their Letters patent, were free from all Impoſition, and after ſome Delay and Chicanry of Mr. *Jacob*, it was ordered, upon a full Hearing of the Allegations on both Sides, that he ſhould deliver the Tobacco to the Company, paying all lawful Duties appertaining thereto. And thus, at length, they regained their Goods out of the Hands of this Harpy; but were obliged to ſit ſilently by the great Loſs and Damage, occaſioned partly, by impairing it's Worth through Drying and other Corruption, and partly by the Fall of the Price, upon the Sale of *Engliſh* Tobacco, made ſince it's Importation. To which was added the daily Expectation of more, both from *Virginia* and the *Somer-Iſlands*, which rendered the Market ſo mean and dead, that they were ſadly puzzled and perplexed, how to diſpoſe of it. And at laſt, after many Schemes and Efforts to raiſe the Price, they were obliged

1619. obliged to ſell it very low, and were conſiderable Loſers by it.

Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor. 1620. IT was one peculiar Mark and Property of this Family of our Kings, that they were always craving, and for ever poor and in Want, notwithſtanding the frequent Contributions of the People, to ſome of them eſpecially; the Reaſons of which, it lies not within my Province at preſent, to open and explain. And accordingly King *James*, notwithſtanding his natural Antipathy to Tobacco, began now to taſte the Sweets of the Revenue, ariſing from it; and was therefore very ill ſatisfied, with this Determination of the Privy Council. For in the very Beginning of the next Year, within a Month after, under Colour, that ſome *Spaniſh* Tobacco had ſold at twenty Shillings a Pound, he demanded of the Company twelve pence a Pound, Cuſtom and Impoſt, for theirs. But it was unanimouſly agreed, to ſtand reſolutely upon the Privilege of their Charter, which they could not give up or betray, without the greateſt Breach of their Truſt and Duty. And therefore, as *Virginia* Tobacco had never been actually ſold for more, than five Shillings a Pound, but generally much lower, they ſubmitted to pay three Pence a Pound Cuſtom, which was full five *per Cent.* on their higheſt Price. But however, to avoid all Conteſt with the King, as his Majeſty had given Order for prohibiting, by Proclamation, the planting *Engliſh* Tobacco, for five Years enſuing, they agreed, in Return to that his Majeſty's Favour, during the ſaid Term of five Years, if the Proclamation took Effect, and continued ſo long, to add nine Pence a Pound more, and thereby to make it up twelve Pence; which was the Full of his Majeſty's Demand, tho' not in the ſame Form. But it was conceived, unleſs this Offer, and the true Meaning thereof, ſhould be entered, as an Act, in the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury's Books, it would be very difficult, at the Expiration of the five Years, to withdraw the Payment, but continuing ſo long, it might be demanded for ever, as due from the Company to the King. They therefore appointed a Committee, to repair to the Clerk of the Council, and to take Care, that this Bargain be exactly recorded, and alſo to procure a Copy of the ſaid Record, to be entered in the Company's Journals. But as to the Farm of the Impoſt on Tobacco, the Refuſal whereof the King, at the ſame time, offered them, they held it inconvenient at preſent to be undertaken; but not entirely to reject his Majeſty's Offer, they permitted ſome of their Society, to join for a Part, in the Company's Name, but in reality, for their own proper Uſe and Behoof.

THE

THE Trade of *Virginia* had been thus far reſtrained, and kept in the Adventurers Hands, except a few Interlopers, that ſtraggled in by Chance; and the Method of carrying on this Trade was thus. Every Adventurer, that pleaſed, ſubſcribed, what he thought proper, to a Roll; which Money, together with a certain Sum perhaps, contributed out of the publick Caſh of the Company, made their Capital or Stock. With this they bought Goods, and ſent them to the Cape-Merchant in *Virginia*, who had, long before this, loſt his original Office of being Keeper of the publick Storehouſes, and was become the Company's chief Factor. The Cape-Merchant, having ſold theſe Goods to the Inhabitants, for Tobacco or other Commodities, remitted the Effects to *England*. This Society for Trade, called the Magazine, was a diſtinct Body from the publick Company; but always under its Controle, as it received its Being and Authority from the Company, and as the Joint-Stock of the Company was always the greateſt and principal Adventurer in it. Alderman *Johnſon* had ever been at the Head of this Magazine, under the Title of Director; and ſince the Removal of himſelf and Sir *Thomas Smith* from their Offices, it had been the Subject of much Faction and Diſcord. For they had made many Difficulties, in ſubmitting to the Orders of the Company, concerning the Place of their Meetings; had neglected to bring their Accounts to an Audit, tho' very clear and fairly kept; and had delayed and kept off the making any Dividend; which things had cauſed much Diſturbance and Diſſenſion. To remove therefore ſuch a Block of Offence, it was now agreed to diſſolve this Magazine, and to leave the Trade free and open to all; only with this Proviſo, that the Goods of the Magazine, then upon hand in *Virginia*, ſhould be firſt ſold off, before any of the ſame Kinds ſhould be vended. 1620. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

BUT the Diligence, Vigor, and Fidelity of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and of others of the Company, had now raiſed the Reputation of the Action very high. And accordingly there had been preſented, by an unknown Perſon, the former Year, a Communion Cup, with a Cover and Caſe, a Trencher Plate for the Bread, a Carpet of Crimſon Velvet, and a Damaſk Table-Cloth, for the Uſe of the College; and another had given a fair Set of Plate, with other rich Ornaments, to Mrs. *Mary Robinſon*'s Church, who had, the Year before, bequeathed two hundred Pounds, towards the Building of it. And now, in the Beginning of this Year, another unknown Perſon ſent five hundred Pounds, directed; *To Sir* Edwin Sandys, *the faithful Treaſurer of* Virginia. This was for the Maintenance of a convenient

Number

1620. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

Number of young *Indians*, from seven or under, to twelve Years of Age, to be instructed in Reading and the Principles of the Christian Religion; and then to be trained and brought up in some lawful Trade, with all Gentleness and Humanity, till they attained the Age of twenty one; and after that, to have and enjoy the like Liberties and Privileges, with the native *English* in *Virginia*. And he likewise sent fifty Pounds, to be given into the Hands of two religious and worthy Persons, who should, every Quarter, examine and certify, to the Treasurer in *England*, the due Execution of this Design, together with the Names of the Children, and of their Tutors and Overseers. This Charity, the Company thought not proper, to entrust to private Hands, but committed the Management of it to *Smith's* Hundred chiefly. This lay in the Parts above *Hampton*, up into *Warwick*, and was so called, in Honour to Sir *Thomas Smith*. But after this, Sir *Thomas*, with the Earl of *Warwick*, and the rest of that Faction, sold out their Shares in this, and other private Plantations, and only reserved their Part in the Company's publick Stock, in order to be present, and to have a Vote at their Courts. Wherefore this was afterwards changed to the Name of *Southampton* Hundred; either in Honour to the Earl of *Southampton*, their next Treasurer, or rather, as that Nobleman became the chief Adventurer in the Plantation. And further, for the better procuring and retaining the *Indian* Children, the Company ordered a Treaty and Agreement to be made with *Opechancanough*, and authorised Sir *George Yeardley*, to make him such Presents, out of the Magazine, as would be most grateful to him, and best promote the Design. Mr. *Nicholas Farrar*, the Elder (Father, as I take it, to the present and succeeding Deputy-Treasurer of the Company) also bequeathed three hundred Pounds, for converting Infidel Children in *Virginia*. He ordered this to be paid into the Hands of Sir *Edwin Sandys* and Mr. *John Farrar*, at such time, as it should appear by Certificate, that ten *Indian* Children were placed in the College; and then, by them to be disposed of, according to his true Intent and Meaning. And in the mean time, he obliged his Executors to pay eight *per Cent.* for the Money, to be given to three several honest Men in *Virginia*, of good Life and Fame, and such as Sir *Edwin Sandys* and Mr. *John Farrar* should approve of, each to bring up one of the said Children, in the Grounds and Principles of the Christian Religion.

THERE was, at this time, a great Scarcity of Clergy in *Virginia*; there being but five Ministers and eleven Burroughs, each of which, being some very distant from each other,

other, was erected into a distinct Parish. The Company indeed had before, in their Charter by Sir *George Yeardley*, taken Care of a handsome Provision for the Clergy. For they had ordered an hundred Acres of Land, in each of the Burroughs, to be laid off for a Glebe; and that there should, for their further Maintenance, be raised a standing and certain Revenue, out of the Profits of each Parish, so as to make every Living, at least two hundred Pounds *Sterling* a Year. And this Stipend I find, two Years after, settled in the following Manner: That the Minister should receive Yearly fifteen hundred Weight of Tobacco, and sixteen Barrels of Corn, which was then estimated at two hundred Pounds *Sterling*: That this should be raised by ten Pounds of Tobacco and a Bushel of Corn a Head, for every labouring Man or Boy, above sixteen Years of Age; provided, it did not exceed fifteen hundred Weight of Tobacco and sixteen Barrels of Corn: But if any Plantation was not able, to make up that Quantity, by ten Pounds of Tobacco and a Bushel of Corn a Head, that, in such Case, the Minister should be contented with less, according to the Number of Tithables. And now, for a farther Encouragement, that pious, learned, and painful Ministers might be invited to go over, the Company ordered six Tenants to be placed on each of those Glebes, at the publick Expence; and they applied to the Bishop of *London*, for his Help and Assistance in procuring proper Ministers, which his Lordship readily promised, and undoubtedly performed. For he had ever been a great Favourer and Promoter of the Plantation, and had himself alone collected and paid in a thousand Pounds towards the College; which he would not permit the Company to diminish, by a Present to his Register, who had been very active and useful in the Collection. And for this, and other his Deserts towards them, he was made free of the Company, and chosen one of his Majesty's Council for *Virginia*.

1620. Sr *George Yeardley*, Governor.

As the Country was very defenceless and unfortified, and as the Interests and Improvements of the Inhabitants were now much encreased, and become considerable, they began to grow uneasy in that Particular; and they wrote to the Treasurer and Company in *England*, to procure them skilful Engineers, to raise Fortifications; promising, themselves to bear the Charge of it. Wherefore, to give them present Satisfaction, and as regular Fortifications, to endure Assault and Battery, were not so needful, as the chusing and improving some Places of natural Strength and Advantage, Sir *Thomas Gates* was entreated by the Company, as well in Regard of his military Skill, as of his Knowledge of the

1620. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

the Country, to write them his private Letters of Advice and Direction. And he was also desired, together with Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, to confer with General *Cecil* about it, another eminent and military Member of their Society, and youngest Son to the famous Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, who likewise promised, if other Methods failed, to write them such particular Directions and Instructions, that they might easily themselves proceed. To them was afterwards added Sir *Horatio Vere*, who was esteemed the Person of the greatest military Skill and Reputation of any in that unwarlike Age. He was therefore, this Summer, sent Commander of the single Regiment, which King *James*, in his great Wisdom, thought fit to furnish out, for the Relief and Support of his distressed Son in Law, the *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. For altho' General *Cecil* had been first designed for that Service, yet he was afterwards laid aside, and this Gentleman appointed in his Room.

THE Governor and Council, in *Virginia*, had settled and allowed certain Fees to the Secretary, which were, this Year, sent to *England* for Confirmation. But the Treasurer and Company were become, from the late Exactions, very jealous and cautious in that Point; and did moreover judge those Fees to be very oppressive and intolerable. And therefore, for the Ease of the Colony, they declared, that the Secretary should receive no Fees at all; but in Recompence of all Services, they allotted five hundred Acres of Land, for him and his Successors, with twenty Tenants thereon. This was laid off on the *Eastern* Shore, and the Grant was afterwards enlarged. But whereas Captain *Argall*, in the time of his Suspension from the Place of Admiral, had deputed *Abraham Peirsey*, the Cape-Merchant, to be his Vice-Admiral, the Company declared that Deputation, to be utterly void and unlawful, and committed the Execution of that Office, to the Governor and Council of State, and to such under them, as they should authorise and appoint.

THERE had been many scandalous Reports spread (as was intimated in a private Letter to Mr. *Bland*, a very considerable Merchant of the Company) of the Barrenness and Infertility of the Soil in *Virginia*. And it also had been one especial Piece of Captain *Argall*'s Policy, in order to dishearten and disgrace the Company, to vilify the Country, both by himself and his Engines, and to represent it as less fertile, than the most barren arable Lands in *England*. And altho' these Aspersions were sufficiently contradicted by his own former Letters and Reports, yet, for a fuller Answer to them, a Commission was sent to *Virginia*, and a Return made

made upon Oath, of the Strength and Goodneſs of the Soil. But as Malice is more induſtrious than Truth, theſe unjuſt Scandals prevailed but too much, and diſcouraged many Adventurers from making their Tranſportations. To obviate therefore all ſuch ill Conſequences, it was reſolved upon the Motion, and committed to the Care, of Sir *Edwin Sandys* and Dr. *Winſtone*, to prepare and publiſh a ſmall Book, containing a Refutation of all ſuch ſlanderous Reports; and to adjoin, at the End, an alphabetical Index of the Adventurers Names. This laſt had a double Uſe. For, in the firſt Place, it did great Honour to the Enterpriſe, by ſhewing, that many of the chief Perſons in the Nation, for Wiſdom, Fortune, and Dignity, were deeply concerned in, and great Encouragers of it. And next, as this Index was drawn from Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Books, which were very careleſly kept and incorrect, it gave the Alarm to all ſuch, as had paid in their Monies to him, and found themſelves omitted in this Liſt. And it accordingly made them bring in his Receipts, or Bills of Adventure; whereby many Sums of Money appeared to have been received by him, which could otherwiſe never have been made out by his Books, or proved by any other Method.

1620. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

THE

THE HISTORY OF *VIRGINIA.*

BOOK IV.

1620. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

THE Time of Sir *Edwin Sandys*'s Office being expired, there was held a great and general Quarter Court of Election, at Mr. Deputy *Farrar*'s Houſe, in St. *Sithe*'s Lane, on the 17th of *May*, conſiſting of three Earls, one Viſcount, four Lords, thirty Knights, ſeveral Doctors and Eſquires, and largely above an hundred other Gentlemen, Merchants, and Citizens. To this ſplendid Meeting, Sir *Edwin Sandys* made a long and very handſome Speech, laying before them the State of their Affairs, at the time of his Acceſſion to the Office of Treaſurer, and then. In this he was naturally led to ſet forth, as well the Negligence and bad Government at home, as particularly the vaſt Loſs and Damage, which the Company had ſuſtained, in the Time of their Deputy Governor, Captain *Argall*. And he informed them, that there had, within his Year, been ſet out eight Ships at the Company's Expence, and four others by private Adventurers; and that theſe Ships had tranſported twelve hundred and ſixty one Perſons, whereof ſix hundred and fifty were for the publick Uſe, and the other ſix hundred and eleven for private Plantations. He alſo gave them an Account of the ſeveral Gifts, which had been made, this Year, for pious Uſes; and of the many Patents, that had paſſed to various private Adventurers and their Aſſociates, who had under-

undertaken, to transport to *Virginia* great Multitudes of People, with much Cattle. And he recounted to them the several Methods, which had been taken, to draw the People off from their greedy and immoderate Pursuit of Tobacco, and to turn them to other more useful and necessary Commodities: That for this Purpose, an hundred and fifty Persons had been sent, to set up three Iron Works: That Directions had been given for making Cordage, as well of Hemp and Flax, as more especially of Silk-grass, which grew there naturally in great Abundance, and was found, upon Experience, to make the best Cordage and Line in the World; and that therefore each Family had been ordered and obliged, to set an hundred Plants of it, and the Governor himself five thousand: That, besides, it had been recommended to them, to make Pitch and Tar, together with Pot and Soap-Ashes, and to provide Timber of all Sorts, for Shipping, and other Uses; to which End, sufficient Men and Materials had been sent over, for erecting sundry Sawing-Mills: That the Country abounding in Mulberry Trees of the best Sort, whereon some Silkworms had been found naturally, producing excellent Silk, they had therefore prest upon them the Culture and Improvement of that Manufacture; and that his Majesty, now the second time, after the Miscarriage of the former, had bestowed upon the Company Plenty of Silkworm Seed, of the best Sort, out of his own Store: That moreover, as the Country yielded naturally a wonderful Variety of excellent Grapes, there had been sent divers skilful Vignerons, together with Store of Vine Slips, of the best *European* Kinds: And lastly, that the Salt-Works, which had been suffered to run to Decay, were again restored and set up; and that there were now Hopes of such Plenty, as not only to serve the Colony for the present, but also shortly to supply the great Fishery on those *American* Coasts. 1620. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

He then exhibited to the Court the Book of his Accounts, examined and approved by five of the seven publick Auditors of the Company, the other two being absent. And he further declared, that for any Business, done within his Year, he had not left the Company, to his Knowledge, one Penny in Debt, except perhaps the Remain of some Charges, which had not been delivered in, or were not yet become due; and that he had also left in Stock twelve hundred Pounds more, than had been left to him the former Year. And next, he proceeded to inform the Company of the Deputy's Accounts, who himself presented them, exactly kept, after the Manner of Merchants, in three Books, subscribed and approved, as well by the Company's Committees, as

1620. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

all the Auditors. And then Sir *Edwin Sandys* went on, and told the Court, that he could not but greatly commend Mr. Deputy-Treasurer's Fidelity, Care, and Industry; who, to the Neglect of his own private Affairs, had bestowed his whole Time, together with the great Help and Assistance of his Brothers, on the Business of his Office, which he had discharged, with wonderful Exactness, and an incredible Diligence and Labour. And lastly, he concluded, with his respective Thanks to the several Orders of the Company: First, to the Company in general, for their good Opinion and Affection, in chusing him their Treasurer: Then, particularly to the Lords, for their frequent Presence, to the great Grace and Honour of the Court, and Furtherance of the Enterprise: Next, to the Officers, for their Fidelity and Diligence, in joining with him to support the great Burthen of the Company's Business: And lastly, to the Court, for their Goodness and Patience, in bearing with his involuntary Errors and other Infirmities. After which, delivering up his Office, together with the Seals, he desired them to proceed to their Election, according to the Message, lately received from his Majesty; and thereupon withdrew himself out of Court.

FOR at the Beginning of this Court, before they had entered upon any Business, a Gentleman from the King presented himself to the Board, and signified; that it was his Majesty's Pleasure, out of his especial Care and Affection for the Colony, that the Company should elect one of the four, which he should name to them, and no other, to be their Treasurer. These were Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Thomas Roe*, Mr. Alderman *Johnson*, and Mr. *Maurice Abbot*. Sir *Thomas Smith* and Alderman *Johnson* had before been in their chief Offices, and the Company conceived themselves to have little Reason, to be satisfied with their Conduct and Proceedings. But in *Virginia* more especially, where the Effects of their Management had been more sensibly felt, they were notoriously infamous, and utterly detested and cursed by the whole Colony. So that this may be looked upon, as an additional Instance of the unhappy Turn of that Monarch, in his Choice of publick Officers. Sir *Thomas Roe* was indeed an eminent Person, a Man of Letters, and a very great Traveller, and is well known to the Learned, by the Intimacy and Dearness, that was between him and Dr. *Donne*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s; who was himself afterwards one of the Company, and of his Majesty's Council for *Virginia*. But Sir *Thomas Roe* is most noted, for his Embassy from King *James* to the Court of the Great *Mogul*, and for his Journal of that Embassy, a most judicious and exquisite

Book

Book of Travels. But since his Return from the Great *Mogul*'s Court, he had been concerned in the Customs, and was likewise well known, to have had a long and intimate Friendship with Sir *Thomas Smith*; both which, being suspicious Circumstances to the *Virginia* Company, would but little contribute towards recommending him to their Choice. As to Mr. *Abbot*, little is known of him; only that he was a Merchant, and may seem, from some obscure Circumstances, to have been of Kin to his Grace, Dr. *George Abbot*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 1620. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

BUT the greatest Obstacle, to the Election of either of these Gentlemen, was, that the Company had, almost unanimously, cast their Eye upon the Earl of *Southampton* for their future Treasurer, a Nobleman of eminent Quality, Grandson to the Lord Chanceller *Wriothesly* (one of King *Henry* VIII's Executors, and of the Regents during the Minority of *Edward* VI.) and Father to the great and virtuous Earl and Duke of *Southampton*, in the Reigns of *Charles* the First and Second. He is also famed in History, for his Friendship to the unfortunate Earl of *Essex*, by whose Rashness and Impetuosity, he was betrayed into some unwarrantable Actions; and was therefore, at the same time with that Nobleman, condemned to Death, but pardoned by Queen *Elisabeth*, and kept in Prison, during her Life. He was, in Truth, an early, constant, and great Encourager of this Settlement of *Virginia*, as well as of all other noble Works and Enterprises; and is particularly memorable, for his generous Patronage, and singular Munificence, to *Shakespear*, the Glory and Prodigy of the *English* Stage. For he is said, to have given him, at one time, a thousand Pounds, to enable him to go through with a Purchase, which he understood, he had an Inclination to make. But altho' he had been a strenuous Friend of *Essex*'s, to all whom King *James* declared a particular Regard and Obligation, as that Lord was thought to have acted for his Interests, and altho' he was admitted of the Privy Council, yet was he but little affected or liked at Court. For his Friendship to the former Earl of *Essex* was continued down to his Son; whose hard Usage, in some Measure from the Court, in the Case of his Wife, could not but have been much disapproved and disgusted by him. And besides, about this Time, the Encroachments of the Prerogative, and the avowed Principles of arbitrary Power, began to raise a Spirit of Liberty in the Nation; and the Earl of *Southampton*, together with the Earls of *Essex* and *Oxford*, were soon distinguished, as the undoubted Heads of the patriot Party in the House of Lords; whilst Sir *Dudley*

1620

Sr *George Yeardley*, Governor.

Digges, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, Mr. *Selden*, and others of the *Virginia* Company, as well as divers Members not of that Company, appeared with equal Vigor and Reſolution, in the Houſe of Commons.

BUT however the Affections of the Company might ſtand, they were much troubled and perplexed, by this Meſſage from the King. For ſhould they proceed according to that Nomination, they would certainly admit a very great and evident Breach, in their Privilege of free Election. And ſhould they reject it, they might incur the Suſpicion of Defect in Point of Duty and Obedience; an Imputation, ever hateful and eaſy of Acceſs to the jealous Minds of weak and puſillanimous Princes, and which many of their own diſaffected Members would be too ready to improve, to the Diſadvantage of the Company. Having therefore conſulted the Letters patent, it was at length agreed to adjourn to Election to the next Quarter Court; and after much and earneſt Refuſal, they prevailed on Sir *Edwin Sandys*, to continue in his Office, till that time. In the mean while, as it evidently appeared, that the King had been much abuſed and miſinformed, concerning the Management of their Affairs, they appointed the Earl of *Southampton*, the Viſcount *Doncaſter*, Lord *Cavendiſh*, Lord *Sheffield*, Sir *John Davers*, Sir *Nicholas Tufton*, Sir *Lawrence Hyde*, with others, Gentlemen and Merchants, to deliver in, to his Majeſty, a full and true Account, as well of the former, as of the laſt Year's Adminiſtration of their Affairs; and to beſeech his Majeſty, not to take from them the Privilege of their Charters, but to leave it to their own Choice, to have a free Election. To which Requeſt, his Majeſty readily condeſcended; and farther ſignified, that it would be highly pleaſing and agreeable to him, if they made Choice of ſuch a Perſon, as might, at all times, and on all Occaſions, have free Acceſs to his Royal Preſence. And he likewiſe declared, that the Meſſenger, in excluding them from the Liberty of chuſing any other, but one of the four nominated, had miſtaken his Intention; which was indeed, to recommend thoſe Gentlemen to their Choice, but not ſo, as to bar the Company from the Election of any other.

THIS Anſwer being received by the Company with great Thankfulneſs, Mr. *Herbert* obſerved to them, that their Buſineſs had, of late, ſuffered much, as well in Reputation, as otherways, by Reaſon of ſome unhappy Diſſenſions among them: That they ought, therefore, ſeriouſly to think, of applying a preſent and effectual Remedy to this Evil: That the late Treaſurer was a Gentleman of ſuch acknowledged Sufficiency, and of ſo great Integrity and Induſtry, that

that of his Rank, there could not certainly be any found to surpass him: That therefore, there seemed to him no Hope left, except some of those honourable Personages, then present, would vouchsafe to accept of the Place of Treasurer; who, by the Addition of Nobility, and by the Lustre and Influence of their high Station, might effect that, which, they had found by Experience, could not be effected, by mere Dint of Ability and Industry. Hereupon, the whole Court, beseeching his Lordship to redeem this noble Enterprise from imminent Danger and Destruction, did, with universal Joy and Applause, nominate the Earl of *Southampton*; and to testify their Thankfulness and Respect, they elected him Treasurer, without the Ballot, by a general Acclamation and Erection of Hands. And his Lordship, after a short Pause, declared his Acceptance; and exhorted them all, to put on the same Mind, with which he accepted that Place, and laying aside all private Feuds and Animosities, to labour chearfully and unanimously, for the Promotion of the publick Good, and the Advancement of the Colony. But as his Lordship's Attendance in Parliament, and other weighty Affairs, might not always permit him, to be so constant at their Courts, as might otherwise be wished, they voluntarily, and without his Motion, dispensed with him, in that Particular. And they also re-elected Mr. *John Farrar*, to the Place of Deputy-Treasurer; whose Experience, and known Integrity and Diligence, might well supply the occasional Absence of their Treasurer. Sir *Edwin Sandys* likewise, who was in a close and intimate Friendship with the Earl of *Southampton*, was afterwards authorised, at his Lordship's Desire, to set his Hand, upon Occasion, to Receipts of Money, for the Company's Use; and did otherwise, by his private Diligence and Activity, give him great Ease and Assistance, in the Execution of the Office.

1620. Sr *George Yeardley*, Governor.

CAPTAIN *Brewster*'s Appeal from the Sentence of the Court-Martial, in *Virginia*, had, all this while, hung in Suspence; and it had even been declared, by a Meeting of the Council at the Earl of *Warwick*'s House, the former Year, that Trial by Martial Law was the noblest kind of Trial, being judged by Soldiers and Men of Honour. But now, proper Certificates and attested Copies of the Proceedings being returned from *Virginia*, the Cause came to a final Hearing and Determination, in an extraordinary Court, held for that Purpose, and composed of several Lords and others of eminent Quality and Distinction. But here there seems to have reigned a quite different Spirit from that, which appeared at the Earl of *Warwick*'s. For they were

1620. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

no way inclined, to give up the many Rights and Advantages of Juries and the Laws of *England*, for the extraordinary Privilege of being ſummarily tried by Martial Law, and dying honourably by the Verdict of Gentlemen of the Sword. And therefore, being ſhocked at the Cruelty and Terror of the Proceedings againſt Captain *Brewſter*, they declared them to be unjuſt and unlawful, and not warrantable, either in Matter or Form, by the Laws of *England*, or by any Power or Authority, derived from his Majeſty's Charters: That Captain *Brewſter* had committed nothing, any way worthy of the ſevere Penalty of Death: That the Manner of Trial by Martial Law, in time of Peace, and when there was no Mutiny or Rebellion, was utterly unlawful and of no Validity: And conſequently, that Captain *Brewſter* was to be held a legal Man, and not lawfully condemned. And all this then paſſed and was ratified by the univerſal Aſſent of the Court; altho' Sir *Thomas Wroth*, who had married the Earl of *Warwick*'s Siſter, did, in a ſubſequent Court, declare his Diſſent, on ſome falſe and frivolous Pretences. Captain *Brewſter* had alſo, upon his Requeſt, a Copy of this Act of Court granted him, exemplified under the legal Seal of the Company; of which he ſent a Duplicate to *Virginia*.

In *May* this Year, there was held another General Aſſembly, which has, through Miſtake, and the Indolence and Negligence of our Hiſtorians, in ſearching ſuch ancient Records, as are ſtill extant in the Country, been commonly reputed the firſt General Aſſembly of *Virginia*. But that Privilege was granted ſooner, immediately upon the Diſguſt taken, by the worthier Part of the Company, at Sir *Thomas Smith*'s ill Government, and the inſufferable Tyranny and Iniquity of Captain *Argall*'s Proceedings. And upon Sir *George Yeardley*'s Repreſentation of the Want of more Counſellors, the Company appointed the following Gentlemen to be of the Council; Mr. *George Thorpe*, Deputy for the College; Mr. *Thomas Newce*, who had alſo been ſent over Deputy for the Company's Lands, with the Allowance of twelve hundred Acres, and forty Tenants; Mr. *Tracy*; Mr. *Pountis*; Mr. *Middleton*; Mr. *Bluet*; and Mr. *Harwood*, the Chief of *Martin*'s Hundred. And we are likewiſe told by Mr. *Beverley*, that a *Dutch* Ship, putting in this Year, ſold twenty Negroes to the Colony, which were the firſt of that Generation, that were ever brought to *Virginia*.

Tobacco, a ſtinking, nauſeous, and unpalatable Weed, is certainly an odd Commodity, to make the Staple and Riches of a Country. It is neither of Neceſſity nor Ornament

ment to human Life; but the Use of it depends upon Humour and Custom, and may be looked upon, as one of the most singular and extraordinary Pieces of Luxury, that the Wantonness of Man hath yet invented or given into. It is not therefore to be wondered, that the Colony's Eagerness and Application, almost solely, to Tobacco, was much distasted and opposed by the Company; especially in those early Times, before it had yet obtained such a general Reception and Dominion in the World. To which may be added, that the King himself, to whom the Age in general, and the Company in particular, did, on many Occasions, pay great Deference, had a Sort of natural Antipathy to it, and was perpetually haranguing, railing, and even writing against it. For that *Solomon* of *England* thought it not below his Royal Wisdom and Dignity, to write a Treatise, entitled; *A Counter-Blast to Tobacco*. The Company therefore entered into and admitted various Projects, for raising other things of more immediate Necessity and Benefit to Mankind; such as the several Commodities, mentioned and recommended by Sir *Edwin Sandys*, in his late Speech, at the delivering up of his Office, with many others. For this Purpose, they procured plenty of Silkworm Seed out of *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*; and sent over a Person, who had been brought up, many Years, in tending the King's Silkworms at *Oatlands*, and was thereby become very skilful, in breeding the Worms, and winding the Silk, and undertook to instruct others therein. And they also laid out for, and had Hopes of procuring, many more such skilful Artists from *France*. And as the Inhabitants were very eager, to have the Servants and Apprentices, sent over by the Company, they made an Order, for the greater Encouragement of these Commodities, that such Planters, as had excelled, in building fit Rooms for Silkworms, and in planting Mulberry Trees and Vines, should have the first Choice of such Apprentices and Servants; and that the Company would be paid for them, not a Whit in Smoke and Tobacco, but in Corn, Silkgrass, Silk, and other such useful Commodities. At Sir *Edwin Sandys*'s Motion, there was likewise translated, by some of the Company, a *French* Treatise (recommended, as excellent in that Kind) concerning the Management of Mulberry Trees and Silk; which was printed at the Company's Expence, and sent over in sufficient Numbers, and distributed among the People. And they also appointed a select Committee of Merchants, to rate all those several Commodities at such a just Price, that the Company and Merchants might be no Losers thereby, and yet that the Planter might have good Encouragement to raise them.

1620. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

1620. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

BESIDES these, they entered into Projects and Contracts, for raising various other Commodities. And Sir *Edwin Sandys* in particular, who was ever studious and indefatigable in the Company's Business, presented a long and judicious Writing, containing many useful Instructions and Projects, for the Peace and better Government of the Company at home, and for the Advancement of the Colony abroad; all which, in its several Parts and Branches, was entrusted to proper Committees, to ripen and bring into Execution. Sir *William Monson* also, a Person of great Eminence and Note (being Admiral in the Reigns of Queen *Elisabeth*, *James* I. and *Charles* I. and Author of the Naval Tracts) together with his Associates, offered to the Company, if they would, for seven Years, grant them the sole Benefit and Importation, from *Virginia*, of two such new Commodities, as had not yet been discovered or planted by any other, to pay them an hundred Pounds *per Annum*, to plant twenty five Men, every Year during the said Term, and then to resign the Whole up into the Company's Hands. A Patent was therefore accordingly granted, with proper Restrictions; but what these Commodities were, or what was the Success or Consequence of this Undertaking, I do not find.

THIS Year 1620, Count *Gondomar*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, who had a great Ascendant at Court, and governed the King, as he pleased, prevailed with him, to fit out a Squadron, of six Ships of War and twelve stout Merchantmen, in order to humble the *Algerines*, who then infested the *Spanish* Coasts and Trade, but were not any way particularly troublesome to our Nation. And thus was this weak and timorous Prince, who could not be drawn to make any Steps, towards the Vindication of his own Honour, or to support the Rights of his Family, or the Interests of his Subjects, strangely engaged in a warlike Expedition, in Defence of a treacherous and delusive Ally. This Squadron was put under the Command of Sir *Robert Mansel*, as Admiral; together with whom, Sir *Richard Hawkins*, Vice-Admiral, Sir *Thomas Button*, Rear-Admiral, Sir *Henry Palmer*, *Arthur Manwaring*, and *Thomas Love*, Esqrs. Captains of the other Men of War, and *Samuel Argall*, Esq; who commanded one of the stoutest Privateers, were appointed a Council of War. But this Enterprise was very weakly managed; and to use Sir *William Monson*'s Remark, altho' it was designed to find out and destroy the Pirates of *Algiers*, yet the Fleet did not spend twenty Days at Sea, the whole time, they continued in the *Mediterranean*; but retired into Harbour, where the Pirates might find them, but

not

1620. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

not they the Pirates. So that, this ill-conducted Action afforded sufficient Subject of Scorn and Laughter to all Nations; especially considering the great Reputation, the *English* had justly gained, in their former Expeditions at Sea. But *Cambden* tells us, that, in Revenge for this Injury and Assault, the *Algerines* took, by the 9th of *October* following, thirty five Sail of *English* and *Scotch* Ships.

ABOUT this time, there arose a warm Dispute between the two Colonies, concerning the *Virginia* Company's Right to fish at *Cape Cod*, within the Limits of the *Northern* Colony; and upon Reference to the Letters-patent, it was found clearly, that their Pretensions were justly grounded. But Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, with others principally concerned in the *Northern* Grant, endeavoured privately to obtain a new Patent, whereby the *Southern* Colony should be utterly excluded from fishing upon that Coast, without their Leave and Licence first obtained. This gave a just Alarm to the *Virginia* Company. For besides six thousand Pounds, which they had already expended upon that Fishery, it was at present of main Consequence to them, as well for the Support and Sustenance of the Plantation, as for defraying the vast Charge of Shipping and Transportation of People, by Returns made from thence in Fish. They therefore applied to his Majesty, and got this Patent of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* stopped and sequestered, in the Lord Chancellor's Hands. And finding, how precarious their Privileges were, upon his Majesty's sole Grant, and how liable to be perpetually violated and impeded, it was resolved, upon the Motion of Mr. *Smith*, a sensible, worthy, and useful Member of the Company, to obtain a new Grant, with all such further Immunities, and larger Privileges, as were fitting and requisite, and to have it strengthened and confirmed in the Parliament, which was to meet soon after; and upon the Earl of *Southampton*'s Application to his Majesty, he readily gave his Consent to it. But notwithstanding the Earl of *Southampton*'s Interest and Endeavours, and Sir *Edwin Sandys*'s great Pains and Industry therein, it was never brought to any final Issue or Conclusion.

BUT the Remedy, proposed by Mr. *Herbert*, for curing the Factions and Discords of the Company, by setting a Nobleman of eminent Distinction and Authority at the Head of their Affairs, was far from having the intended Effect. For their Animosities and Dissensions grew higher, towards the latter End of this Year, and never ended, but with the Dissolution of the Company. As therefore they were the chief Occasion and Pretence of that Dissolution, it will not be improper here, to give a fuller and more distinct Account of them. BE-

1620. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

BESIDES the Affairs of the Magazine, which, notwithstanding its Diſſolution, ſtill afforded Matter of Contention, there were two other principal Subjects of Diſpute and Confuſion in the Company; the ſettling Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Accounts, and the Proſecution of Captain *Argall*, for his many Outrages and exorbitant Proceedings in *Virginia*. Sir *Thomas Smith* had been Treaſurer, from the firſt Conſtitution of the Company in the Year 1606, till *April* 28, 1619; and in that time, there had paſſed through his Hands about eighty thouſand Pounds. He had, in thoſe Days, a very great Intereſt and Sway in the Company; and to put the beſt Conſtruction upon the Matter, he never expected to be called to a ſtrict and rigorous Account, and his Servants had been very careleſs and remiſs, in keeping his Books. But ſeveral of the Company ſuſpected, that he had embezzled and converted much of the publick Money, to his own private Uſe; and were therefore very eager, to bring him to an Account. Sir *Thomas*, on his ſide, was very fair in his Profeſſions, and preſſed, with much Warmth, the full Settlement and finiſhing the Affair; offering to pay, not only what ſhould appear due from himſelf, but whatever Wrong or Damage ſhould have happened to the Company, from his Under-Officers or Servants. But then his Receipts were ſo very faulty and deficient, and his Diſburſements ſo void of all Warrant and proper Vouchers, that the Company's Auditors, although they took much Pains, could bring nothing to a Head; and the whole only ſerved, to adminiſter freſh Fuel to Animoſities and Quarrels, without any Proſpect of coming to a ſatisfactory Concluſion.

As to Captain *Argall*, altho' he was under Proſecution from the Company, yet by his Craft and Management, by the Power and Influence of his Friends, by his ſhifting and turning, and by going on the Expedition againſt the *Algerines*, he ſo ſhuffled and perplexed the Company, that he at laſt eſcaped, without any Puniſhment or Reſtitution at all. And altho' Sir *Thomas Smith*, overpowered with the Juſtice and Neceſſity of the thing, had firſt commenced the Proſecution againſt him, yet being now Fellow-Sufferers, and equally aggrieved at the preſent upright and vigorous Adminiſtration of the Company's Affairs, they joined Forces, and did every thing in their Power, to diſgrace, and vility, and retard the Succeſs of the Enterpriſe. The principal Perſons of their Faction were, the Earl of *Warwick*; Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, the Earl's Brother; Sir *Thomas Wroth*, who was nearly allied to them by Marriage; Sir *John Wolſtenholme*, a wealthy Merchant and a Farmer of the Cuſtoms; with Alderman *Johnſon*, Mr. *Canning*, and Mr. *Eſſington*, three

three factious Citizens, and others of leſs Note, to the Number of twenty ſix in the whole, when their Faction was ſtrongeſt; a very inconſiderable Party, had they not gained the Ear and Support of a weak King, who had a wonderful Inſtinct and Propenſity to the wrong Side of every Queſtion, and with much Formality of Wiſdom and Learning, for ever miſtook the true Intereſt of himſelf and his Subjects. On the other Side appeared the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Viſcount *Doncaſter*, Lord *Cavendiſh*, Lord *Sheffield*, Lord *Paget*, Sir *Edward Sackvil*, Sir *Dudley Digges*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Sir *John Davers*, Sir *Samuel Sandys*, with a long Roll of others, and in ſhort, the whole Body of Adventurers in general, which conſiſted of near fifty Noblemen, ſome hundreds of Knights, and many hundreds of Gentlemen, eminent Merchants, and Citizens, to the full Amount of a thouſand Perſons in all. But none acted in the Support of Truth and Juſtice, with greater Spirit and Vigor, than the Lord *Cavendiſh*, afterwards Earl of *Devonſhire*, and Sir *Edward Sackvil*. The former was a young Nobleman of much Generoſity, Spirit, and Eloquence; and he ſucceeded Sir *Thomas Smith*, in the Place of Governor to the *Somer-Iſlands* Company. The latter, who afterwards became Earl of *Dorſet*, was the Perſon of the greateſt Fame in that Age, for a facetious Vivacity, ſparkling Wit, and undaunted Courage, joined to a ſound and comprehenſive Underſtanding, and an excellent Turn for Buſineſs. He was one of the firſt, that raiſed the Reputation of the *Dorſet* Family, for Wit and Exactneſs of Taſte and Diſcernment; but is beſt known to common Readers, for his Duel with Lord *Bruce*, which is related in my Lord *Clarendon* and the Guardian, Books deſervedly popular and in the Hands of every Body. And as he appeared thus early in the Cauſe of the Colony (for ſuch is it owned to be by our Aſſemblies of thoſe times) ſo did he continue, to the laſt, a conſtant Friend and Favourer of *Virginia*.

1620. Sr *George Yeardley*, Governor.

As Sir *George Yeardley* had expreſſed his Deſire to leave the Government, at the Expiration of his Commiſſion, which would be in the *November* following, the Earl of *Southampton* recommended to the Company the Conſideration of a proper Perſon, to ſucceed him. His Lordſhip propoſed to their Choice Sir *Francis Wyat*, a young Gentleman, thought every way ſufficient and equal to the Place, and highly eſteemed, as he ſaid, on Account of his Birth, Education, Integrity of Life, and fair Fortune. However, he earneſtly preſſed on the Company the Nomination of ſuch other Perſon or Perſons, as they ſhould think proper, to

1621.

ſtand

1621. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

ſtand in Election with him. But no other being ſo much as named, Sir *Francis Wyat* was choſen Governor, to take his Place at the Expiration of Sir *George Yeardley*'s Commiſſion, and not before. And to do him the greater Grace and Honour, as well as the better to enable and encourage him in the Execution of his Office, they elected him one of his Majeſty's Council in *England* for *Virginia*. They alſo allowed him two hundred Pounds, for all neceſſary Proviſions for his Voyage, with the free Tranſport of himſelf and Attendants, provided they did not exceed the Number of twenty Perſons.

DR. *Lawrence Bohun*, who had left *Virginia* in the Year 1611, with the Lord *Delawarr*, had now obtained a large Grant of Land, for the Tranſportation of three hundred Perſons. He was alſo appointed the Company's Phyſician-General to the Colony, with the Allowance of five hundred Acres of Land and twenty Tenants; under Covenant, to maintain and make them good, from time to time, and at his Deceaſe, or other Removal, to leave the like Number of Men and Stock of Cattle, as was allowed by the Company, and by them annexed to the Place. He accordingly ſet ſail, in the Beginning of *February*, with eighty Paſſengers, in a Ship of an hundred and ſixty Tons and eight Iron Guns and a Falcon, commanded by Captain *Anthony Cheſter*. But about the Middle of *March*, they were attacked, near *Nevis* in the *Weſt-Indies*, by two *Spaniſh* Men of War, of three hundred Tons and ſixteen or twenty Braſs Cannon apeice. The Fight was ſharp and deſperate; but the *Engliſh* ſo beſtowed their Shot, and managed the Engagement with ſuch Dexterity and Bravery, that the *Spaniards* were glad to ſtand aloof, and after following them a Day or two, without any other remarkable Annoyance, at laſt fell aſtern, and left them. There was made a very great Slaughter of the *Spaniards*, ſo that their Scupples ran with Blood; and the Captain of the Admiral-Ship, who acted the Part of a brave Commander, was ſlain. On the *Engliſh* Side, ten were killed; among whom was Dr. *Bohun*, whoſe Death was greatly lamented. He had ſtudied long among the learned Phyſicians of the *Low-Countries*, and behaved himſelf in this Battle, like a worthy and valiant Gentleman. In his Room, Mr. *John Pot* was elected, by the Company, Phyſician-General to the Colony. He was recommended by Dr. *Gulſtone*, an eminent Member of their Society, as a Maſter of Arts, well practiced in Chirurgery and Phyſic, and expert in Chymical Proceſſes and other ingenious Parts of his Profeſſion; whoſe Service, he therefore conceived, would be of great Uſe to the Colony. He was accordingly

ſent,

sent, upon the same Foot, as Dr. *Bohun*; and was allowed his own, his Wife's, and two Servants Passages. Dr. *Gulstone* was likewise desired, to buy a Chest of Physic of twenty Pounds Value, and ten Pounds of Books, proper for the Profession, which should always belong to the Place. 1621. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

CAPTAIN *William Newce* offered, to transport and settle a thousand Persons in *Virginia*, by Midsummer, 1625; and desired to be appointed their General, and to have a Patent, with that Proportion of Land, and such other Privileges, as were usually granted on the like Occasion. A Patent was readily granted, in the largest and most ample Manner. But as to the Title and Command of General, they refused to grant it him; because it was a Power, properly belonging to the Governor only. Besides, it gave such an Independency, as was destructive of all Order and good Government; and had therefore been loudly cried out against, in Captain *Martin*'s extravagant Patent, and in a Grant, surreptitiously and illegally obtained by Captain *Argall*, and therefore expresly stopped, by the Company's Orders to the Governor in *Virginia*. But Captain *Newce* farther requested, in order to enable him the better to go through the Charge of so great an Undertaking, to be appointed Marshal of *Virginia*; for which Post he was eminently qualified, having ever been exercised in military Affairs and Arms, and of noted Experience and Skill in Martial Discipline; as appeared by his many Services in *Ireland*, and by the Testimony of divers honourable Persons, upon their own Knowledge. He was therefore constituted Marshal of *Virginia*; to take into his Charge, as well the Fortifications, Arms, and Forces of the Colony, as to cause the People, to be duly trained up in Military Discipline, and to the Use and Exercise of Arms. And they annexed fifteen hundred Acres of Land and fifty Tenants to the Place, to be transported and furnished by himself, at eight Pounds Charge to the Company a Man. And the King also, being highly pleased at the Nomination of this Gentleman, conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon him; calling him his Knight-Marshal of *Virginia*, and expressing great Hopes from the Management of a Person of his acknowledged Capacity and Skill. However, he did not long survive his Arrival in *Virginia*; but died, two Days after the reading his Patent and Commission.

THERE was, at this time, above a thousand Pounds, due in *Virginia* to the Company, for Rents and Duties; and they were likewise greatly scandalised and offended, to find their frequent and pressing Orders, for raising good and staple Commodities, entirely slighted and neglected. It was therefore

1621. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

therefore thought neceſſary, to appoint a particular Officer, by the Name of Treaſurer; who ſhould have the Charge, not only of their Rents and Duties, but ſhould alſo take into his more eſpecial Regard and Care, to ſee all Orders and Directions, ſent from *England*, duly and faithfully executed, from time to time; or otherwiſe to render a ſufficient Reaſon to the contrary. To this Office Mr. *George Sandys*, the noted Poet and Traveller was unanimouſly elected, as a Perſon every way fit, on Account of his Ability and Integrity. And they likewiſe allotted fifteen hundred Acres of Land, perpetually to belong to the ſaid Place of Treaſurer, with fifty Tenants thereon; and allowed Mr. *Sandys* an hundred and fifty Pounds, to furniſh himſelf for the Voyage, with the free Paſſage of his Family, not exceeding the Number of ten Perſons. And it was thought proper, that two ſuch eminent Officers as Marſhal and Treaſurer, to which Places ſuch worthy Gentlemen had been preferred, ſhould be admitted of his Majeſty's Council in *England*, and appointed of the Council of State in *Virginia*.

SOON after, Mr. *Richard Norwood*, a Man famous, in thoſe Days, as a Mathematician, who had laid off the Tribes and Lands, and made an exact Plot of the Iſlands of *Bermudas*, was recommended to the Company for Surveyor of *Virginia*, and was accordingly elected to the Place. But I know not, how the Change came to be made, yet I find, very ſoon after, Mr. *William Clayborne* appointed and ſent Surveyor. The Company allowed him thirty Pounds a Year and a convenient Houſe, for his publick Service in laying off their Lands; with twenty Pounds paid in Hand, to furniſh himſelf with Inſtruments and Books, which he was obliged to leave to his Succeſſors. They likewiſe allowed him the Tranſport of three Perſons, and gave him two hundred Acres of Land in Fee-ſimple; and in caſe he was employed in any private Survey, he was to receive ſix Shillings a Day, and to be found in Diet and Lodging.

MR. *Pory*'s Commiſſion of Secretary was to determine, at the ſame Time, as Sir *George Yeardley*'s. He had given the Company little Satisfaction in that Office, but had been plainly detected, although a ſworn Officer, of betraying the Proceedings, and ſecretly conveying the Proofs, againſt Captain *Argall*, to the Earl of *Warwick*. And as he was beſides known, to be a profeſſed Tool and Inſtrument to that Faction, the Company was at no Loſs or Heſitation, about renewing his Commiſſion. But four Gentlemen being ſtrongly recommended to them, as fully qualified for that Poſt, in Point of Learning, Honeſty, and Experience, they

they made Choice of Mr. *Chriſtopher Daviſon*, and admitted him a free Brother of the Company, and one of the Council of State in *Virginia*. And as the Company's Ships were often delayed in the Country, through Negligence and Miſmanagement, it was reſolved, to appoint an Officer, by the Title of Vice-Admiral, who ſhould take into his Charge the Care and Diſpatch of them. Mr. *John Pountis* therefore, one of the Council, who had deſerved well of both the Company and Colony, was, this Summer, appointed to that Place proviſionally, and afterwards confirmed by the Quarter Court in *November*, with the Allowance of three hundred Acres of Land and twelve Tenants. 1621. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

THE late large Tranſportations of People, the furniſhing and fitting out the new Governor and theſe other Officers, with the vaſt Charge of providing them with Tenants and Servants, and other needful and well-deſigned Expences, did ſo entirely exhauſt the publick Treaſury of the Company, that it never afterwards recovered itſelf to any tolerable Degree of Affluence or Wealth. And beſides, the Lotteries were now at an End, which were the only Means of raiſing a Fund again, and which alone had brought twenty nine thouſand Pounds *Sterling* into the Company's Stock. Wherefore Mr. *Smith* obſerved to them, that the Lotteries, which had thus far ſupplied the real and ſubſtantial Food, by which *Virginia* had been nouriſhed, did now no longer ſubſiſt. To the End therefore, that ſhe might ſtill be preſerved, by divulging Fame and good Report, he propoſed, in the Name of himſelf and many others of the Society, to have a fair and perſpicuous Hiſtory compiled of the Country, from the firſt Diſcovery to that Time; wherein the Memory and Deſerts of many of her worthy Undertakers, as Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *George Somers*, the Lord *Delawarr*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Sir *Thomas Gates* (for both thoſe Knights, after their Return from *Virginia*, had gone to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and there died) together with divers others then living, might be commended to eternal Thankfulneſs. He regretted their preſent Inability, in having no other Coin, wherewith to recompence the great Pains and Merit of the well-deſerving. But he affirmed, that the beſt planted Parts of *America*, under the *Spaniſh* Government, at the like Age, afforded not better Matter of Relation, than *Virginia* then did. And he ſaid, that the Effect, which ſuch a general Hiſtory, deduced to the Life, would have, throughout the Kingdom, on the popular Opinion of the common Subject, might be gathered, from the Succeſs of the little Pamphlets or Declarations, lately publiſhed. And he

1621. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

he further urged the immediate Performance thereof, becauſe a few Years would conſume the Lives of many, whoſe Memories retained much, and might alſo devour thoſe Letters and Intelligences, which yet remained in looſe and neglected Papers.

THIS Speech was received by the whole Court, with very great Applauſe, as ſpoken freely, and to an excellent Purpoſe; and it was reſolved, to have it conſidered, and put in Practice, in due Time. Mr. *Smith* was alſo exceedingly commended, as well for this, as for always preferring Motions of eſpecial Conſequence. And it was from this Motion, I ſuppoſe, that Captain *Smith* was requeſted, in the Company's Name, to write his Hiſtory of *Virginia*; as he himſelf tells us, *p.* 168. However the Captain's Deſerts ſeem not, about this Time, to have been fully underſtood or regarded. For I find him, ſoon after, preferring a Petition to the Company, ſetting forth; That he had not only adventured Money, but had alſo twice built *James-Town*, and four other Plantations; and had diſcovered the Country, and relieved the Colony, three Years together, with ſuch Proviſions, as he got from the Savages, with great Peril and Hazard of his Life; and therefore he deſired, in Conſideration thereof, that the Company would be pleaſed to reward him, either out of their Treaſury at home, or their Profits in *Virginia*. And certainly, conſidering his many great and extraordinary Services, he was highly worthy their Regard. But the Court referred him to the Committee, appointed for rewarding Men upon Merit; and from whatever Cauſe it happened, I find nothing farther done in the Matter. So that he, with a Fate very uſual to publick Spirits, had Reaſon to complain, that every Shilling, which he had gained by theſe Enterprizes, had coſt him a Pound; and that what he had got, in ſome ſucceſsful Campaigns at War, had been chearfully ſpent on *Virginia* and *New-England*, for the publick Good. Yet he begrudges it not, but ſhould think himſelf happy, to ſee their Proſperity and Advancement.

AT the Court of Election, the Earl of *Southampton* was again choſen Treaſurer for the enſuing Year, with an unanimous Voice. His Lordſhip was then abſent, having been long detained, that Day, in Parliament. But at his coming to Court, he was pleaſed to accept the Place, in a very noble Manner; and he had the hearty Thanks of the whole Court returned him, for his honourable Care and Pains, ever ſince his Entrance into that Place of Government, to uphold and advance the Plantation. And at his Lordſhip's Requeſt, Mr. *John Farrar*, of whoſe Fidelity and Sufficiency

ciency they already had so much Experience, was most willingly continued in his Office of Deputy. 1621.

Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

THE Earl of *Warwick* was highly offended at Sir *George Yeardley*, for intercepting a Pacquet of Letters, and discovering the Correspondence between Secretary *Pory* and himself. He therefore loudly declared his Displeasure, and took all possible Methods to daunt and discourage him, from proceeding vigorously in *Argall*'s Prosecution. To this End, he caused it to be rumoured over all *Virginia*, even to *Opechancanough*, and had it confirmed by Letters from *England*, that he himself was coming over shortly, in Person, to be their Governor, with Captain *Argall* for his Pilot; and that then he would call Sir *George Yeardly* severely into Question, for his own Government, and would take a sharp and full Revenge. These Reports much weakened the Strength and Authority of the Government; and they likewise so affected Sir *George Yeardley*, a Man of a meek and gentle Nature, and threw him into such a Dejection of Spirit, that he fell into a long and languishing Sickness, to the general Hurt and Neglect of the publick Business, as well as Captain *Argall*'s Affair in particular.

THE Company also, this Year, entertained some Projects for producing useful Commodities; and as three of the Master Workmen of their Iron Works were dead, they sent over Mr. *John Berkeley*, and *Maurice*, his Son, who were commended, as very skilful in that Way, with twenty other experienced Workmen. They likewise ordered a Bill to be prepared for the Parliament, for sending over the Poor, which were now become very numerous and burthensome to the several Parishes, to be set to work, and usefully employed, in *Virginia*. Sir *George Yeardley* complained, that the Council of State lived very distant and dispersed; and having no Allowance for their Attendance, could scarce be got together. Whereupon the Company ordered, that the Council should meet, four times a Year, and should hold Quarter Sessions, a whole Week together; to assist the Governor, from time to time, as well in Matter of Counsel and of State, as in all Causes of Importance, and for Redress of general and particular Grievances. And that their Number might make their Meetings the more easy, besides the seven, last Year appointed, and the new Officers of State, now going over, they also added, in the Room of Dr. *Bohun* and two others, that were dead, Mr. *Pot*, the Rev. Mr. *Robert Pawlet*, Captain *Roger Smith*, and Mr. *Leech*. This last Gentleman was going over, to view the Country, and to pitch upon a proper Place of Settlement, for the famous and munificent *William* Earl of *Pembroke*; who had under-

1621. undertaken, with his Associates, to plant thirty thousand Acres of Land, and consequently to transport six hundred Persons.

Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

THE latter End of *July*, or Beginning of *August*, Sir *Francis Wyat* set out for his Government, with the Treasurer, Secretary, Physician-General, and Surveyor, in Company with nine Sail of Ships; all which arrived safe in *Virginia*, about *October*, without the Loss of one single Passenger. With him, was sent a Body of Instructions to the Governor, for the time being, and the Council of State in *Virginia*; consisting of forty seven Articles, and signed by the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Sir *John Davers*, and others of the Council. In these, it was first recommended to them, to take into their especial Regard the Service of Almighty God, and the Observance of his divine Laws; and that the People should be trained up, in true Religion and Virtue. And since their Endeavours, for the Establishment of the Honour and Rights of the Church and Ministry, had not yet taken due Effect, they were required, to employ their utmost Care, to advance all things appertaining to the Order and Administration of Divine Service, according to the Form and Discipline of the Church of *England*; carefully to avoid all factious and needless Novelties, which only tended to the Disturbance of Peace and Unity; and to cause, that the Ministers should be duly respected and maintained, and the Churches, or Places appointed for Divine Service, decently accommodated, according to former Orders in that Behalf. They were, in the next Place, commanded, to keep the People in due Obedience to the King; to provide, that Justice might be equally administered to all, as near as could be, according to the Forms and Constitution of *England*; to prevent all Corruption, tending to the Perversion or Delay of Justice; to protect the Natives, from Injury and Oppression; and to cultivate Peace and Friendship with them, as far as it should be consistent with the Honour of the Nation and Safety of the People. They were likewise required, to make the People apply themselves to an industrious Way of Life; and to suppress all Gaming, Drunkenness, and Excess in Apparel. To this End it was ordained, that no Person, except the Council, or the Heads of Hundreds and Plantations, with their Wives and Children, should wear Gold on their Cloaths, or any Apparel of Silk, except such as had been raised by their own Industry. But the Governor and Council answered to this, that they knew of no Excess in Apparel, except in the Price of it; and had it not come from them, they should have thought it a Flout upon the Colony, for their Poverty and Nakedness. THEY

1621. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

THEY were also enjoined, to use great Care, that no just Cause of Offence be given to any other Prince, State, or People; to permit no Captain, or other Person, under Pretence of Trade, to sail to the *West-Indies*, to rob and spoil; not to give Harbour or Refuge, on the Coasts or in the Country, to any Pirates or Banditti, but severely to prosecute and punish them; and to take better Care, for proper and effectual Fortifications. They further pressed upon them, in a particular Manner, the using all probable Means of bringing over the Natives, to a Love of Civility, and to the Knowledge of God, and his true Religion. To which Purpose, they observed to them, that the Example, given by the *English* in their own Persons and Families, would be of singular and chief Moment: That it would be proper, to draw the best disposed among the *Indians*, to converse and labour with our People, for a convenient Reward; that thereby, being reconciled to a civil Way of Life, and brought to a Sense of God and Religion, they might afterwards become Instruments in the general Conversion of their Countrymen, so much desired: That each Town, Burrough, and Hundred, ought to procure, by just Means, a certain Number of their Children, to be brought up in the first Elements of Litterature; That the most towardly of these should be fitted for the College; in building of which, they purposed to proceed, as soon as any Profit arose from the Estate, appropriated to that Use; and they earnestly required their utmost Help and Furtherance, in that pious and important Work; not doubting the particular Blessing of God upon the Colony, and being assured of the Love of all good Men, upon that Account.

THEY next proceeded to give Instructions, for the Reception and Accommodation of the new Governor, and of the other Officers and People, then sent. And they pressed upon them the raising several useful Commodities; as well Corn, Wine, Silk, and others heretofore frequently mentioned, as also the making Oil of Walnuts, employing their Apothecaries in Distillation, and searching the Country for Minerals, Dyes, Gums, Drugs, and the like. And they ordered them particularly, by the King's Advice and Desire, to draw the People off of their excessive planting of Tobacco. To that End, they were commanded to permit them, to make only an hundred Pounds of Tobacco a Head; and to take all possible Care, to improve that Proportion in Goodness, as much as might be; which would bring their Commodity into Request, and cause a more certain Benefit to the Planter. They likewise added many other Advices and Instructions, for the Administration

1621. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

ſtration of Juſtice, the good Government, and happy Advancement of the Colony.

In Caſe of the Death, Removal, or Suſpenſion of the Governor, the Council, or major Part of them, then reſident in *Virginia*, were ordered, immediately to aſſemble themſelves, within fourteen Days, or ſooner, and out of their own Body, to elect a Perſon, to ſupply the Place, for the Time. But if the Voices ſhould happen to be equal, then Election was to be made of the Lieutenant-Governor; and in his Abſence, or neceſſary Cauſe of declining it, the Marſhal ſhould ſucceed; next, the Treaſurer; and then one of the two Deputies, for the College and Company's Lands; till the Government ſhould be ſettled in one of thoſe chief Officers. And the Governor was authoriſed, to determine and puniſh, at his Diſcretion, any ſudden and emergent Buſineſs, and all Neglect or Contempt of Authority, in any Kind or Perſon whatſoever; except only the Council in their own Perſons, who were, in ſuch Caſes, to be ſummoned to appear, at the next Quarter Seſſion of the Council, and there to abide their Cenſure. But if the Governor thought, it concerned the Peace and Welfare of the Colony, to proceed more ſpeedily with ſuch Offender, that then it ſhould be lawful for him, to ſummon an extraordinary Council, at which ſix of the Council, at leaſt, ſhould be preſent with the Governor; and by Majority of Voices, any Counſellor might be committed, or obliged to give Bail for his Appearance.

Sir *Francis Wyat* alſo brought over with him an Ordinance or Charter, from the Treaſurer, Council, and Company in *England*, for ſettling the Conſtitution and Government of *Virginia*, in the Governor, the Council of State, as his Aſſiſtants, and the General Aſſembly. This Aſſembly was to conſiſt of the Governor, Council of State, and two Burgeſſes, choſen by every Town, Hundred, or particular Plantation. All Matters were to be decided, determined, and ordered in it, by the Majority of Voices, then preſent; reſerving to the Governor a Negative upon the Whole. And they were empowered, to treat, conſult, and conclude, as well concerning all emergent Occaſions, relating to the publick Weal of the ſaid Colony, and every Part thereof, as alſo to make, ordain, and enact ſuch general Laws and Orders, as ſhould, from time to time, appear neceſſary: Provided nevertheleſs, that no Law, or Ordinance, made in the ſaid General Aſſembly, ſhould be of Force or Validity, unleſs the ſame ſhould be ſolemnly confirmed and ratified, in a General Quarter Court of the Company in *England*, and returned under their Seal: As alſo,

also, when this Form of Government should be once well framed and settled, that no Orders, of the Court in *England*, should bind the Colony, before they were ratified and confirmed, in like Manner, by the General Assembly in *Virginia*. But in all other things, they were commanded, to follow the Policy, Form of Government, Laws, Customs, Manner of Trial, and other Administration of Justice, used in *England*. 1621. S. George Yeardley, Governor.

THE Company's Treasury was so reduced, that it could not now suffice for several things of the utmost Necessity and Advantage. Wherefore, to supply this Deficiency, they entered into a Method of preparing Rolls, and offering them to the voluntary Subscription of the Adventurers. Whatever was sent to *Virginia* upon these Rolls, was there sold, by the Cape-Merchant or some other Factor, at such a moderate Price, as should indemnify the Subscribers for their Money advanced, and for all Charges incident thereupon. At this time, four Rolls were prepared and brought into Court, for the Company's Subscription. The first was for Apparel, and other necessary Provisions and Utensils, for the Colony. The second, for sending an hundred more Maids, to make Wives; and sixty were accordingly sent, young, handsome, and well recommended to the Company, for their virtuous Education and Demeanor. With them was sent over the several Recommendations and Testimonials of their Behaviour, that the Purchasers might thence be enabled to judge, how to chuse. The Price of these Wives was stated at an hundred and twenty Pounds of Tobacco, and afterwards advanced to an hundred and fifty, and proportionably more, if any of them should happen to die; so that the Adventurers might be refunded their original Charge. And it was also ordered, that this Debt for Wives should have the Precedency of all others, and be first recoverable. And it was strictly enjoined, that they should be well used, and not married to Servants, but to such Freemen and Tenants, as could handsomely support them; that, by their good Fortune, Multitudes of others might be allured to come over, on the Prospect of advantageous Matches. And the Company likewise declared their Intention, that, for the Encouragement of settled Families, and securing a Posterity, they would prefer and make Consignments to married Men, before single Persons; and that as many Boys should be sent, as there were Maid, to be 'Prentices to those, who married them. They also granted the Adventurers, who subscribed to this Roll, a ratable Proportion of Land, according to the Number of the Maids sent, to be laid off together and formed into a Town, by the Name of *Maidstown*.

1621. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

Maidſtown. The third Roll was for a Glaſs Furnace, to make Beads, which was the current Coin in the *Indian* Trade; and one Captain *Norton*, with ſome *Italian* Workmen, was ſent over for that Purpoſe. The fourth was for ſetting out a trading Voyage with the *Indians*, for Skins and Furs. For, the Company was informed from ſeveral Hands, that the *French* and *Dutch* carried on a very profitable Trade of that ſort, in *Delawarr* and *Hudſon*'s Rivers, which were within the Limits of their Grant, and then eſteemed Parts of *Virginia*. They therefore reſolved, to vindicate their Right, and not to permit Foreigners to run away with ſo lucrative a Branch of their Trade. One Captain *Jones* was accordingly ſent upon the Voyage; but by the Wickedneſs of him and his Mariners, the Adventure was loſt, and the whole Project overthrown. To theſe Rolls, the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *Edwin Sandys*, each ſubſcribed two hundred Pounds; and ſuch was the Zeal and Reſolution of the Adventurers to advance the Colony, that they were ſoon compleated, and put into Execution. At the ſame time, the Company, in their Letters to the Governor and Council, recommends to them the Prevention of Fraud and Deceit in Tobacco; and that ſome Proviſion ſhould be made, for burning all baſe and rotten Traſh, and none ſuffered to go home, but what was very good; whereby, they ſaid, there would certainly be more advanced in the Price, than loſt in the Quantity.

BUT Tobacco was, at this time, a very ſinking Commodity. For altho' the Planters magiſterially forced it on the Company and others, at the current Price of three Shillings a Pound, yet it would not turn out at home, after Shrinkage and Waſte, and the Diſcharge of the Duty and Freight, (which laſt alone was three Pence, and ſometimes four Pence, a Pound) at above two Shillings for the beſt, and the inferior Sort at ſcarce eighteen Pence a Pound. And beſides, the Trade was ſtrangely hampered and perplexed, by the weak and unſteady Counſels of the puny Monarch, then on the Throne. For altho', in the Beginning of the former Year, the Company had yielded to his unreaſonable Demand of twelve Pence a Pound, yet ſoon after, in the ſame Summer, he iſſued a Proclamation, prohibiting a general Importation of Tobacco, and reſtraining the Quantity from *Virginia* and the *Somer-Iſlands*, to fifty five thouſand Weight. At the ſame time, taking Advantage of an Offer of Sir *Thomas Smith* and Alderman *Johnſon*, in the Name of the Company, but without their Knowledge or Authority, and ſo utterly diſclaimed by them, he granted a Monopoly of Tobacco; the ſole Importation whereof was granted

granted by Letters patent, firſt to Sir *Thomas Roe* and his Aſſociates (at whoſe Deſire and Inſtigation the Proclamation, above mentioned, was iſſued) and the Year after, to Mr. *Jacob* and certain other Patentees. They proceeded moſt injuriouſly againſt both Companies, not only ſtinting them to too ſcant a Proportion, but alſo reſtraining them from ſelling their Tobacco, without their Seal and Allowance firſt had; for which, under the Pretence and Title of Garbling, they were obliged to pay four Pence a Pound. This Garbling was an ancient Cuſtom of the City of *London*; and an Officer was appointed, who had Power to enter into any Shop or Warehouſe, to view and ſearch Drugs and Spices, and to garble the ſame; that is, to make them clean from all Garbles or Traſh. And it was now put into Execution, and arbitrarily applied to Tobacco (a new Commodity in *England*, and therefore not legally ſubject to Garbling, without an expreſs Law) in order the more effectually to oppreſs the Companies and Plantations, and to ſqueeze the greater Gain out of them.

1621. Sr *George Yeardley*, Governor.

THUS injured and diſtreſſed, the Company preſented their Petition and Repreſentation to his Majeſty, to which they received a gracious Anſwer, with large Profeſſions of his Love to the Colonies, and that it never was his Intention to grant any thing to their Prejudice; but without any Redreſs of their Grievance. It was therefore at laſt reſolved, to prefer a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, and therein to complain of theſe Oppreſſions, which tended to the utter Deſtruction and Overthrow of the Colonies; and as that Houſe had called into Queſtion, and intended to ſuppreſs, other Monopolies (a great and crying Grievance of thoſe Times) they doubted not, to receive from them a full and ample Redreſs. They likewiſe, at the Motion of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, preſented Mr. *Edward Bennet*, a Citizen of *London*, with the Freedom of their Company; becauſe he had written a Treatiſe, ſetting forth, in a clear and lively Manner, the great Inconvenience and Damage to the Nation, by the Importation of *Spaniſh* Tobacco; and becauſe he had frequently attended the Committees of the Houſe of Commons, who were well inclined, to afford their utmoſt Aſſiſtance, for the Prohibition of foreign Tobacco. This Mr. *Bennet* immediately became the moſt deeply engaged, and was far the largeſt and moſt conſiderable Adventurer of any, then known, in the Affair of *Virginia*; whoſe Foundations, in that early time, have continued down to the preſent. For his Nephew, *Richard Bennet*, Eſq; was the firſt Governor of *Virginia*, by the Election of the Colony, in the time of *Cromwell*'s Uſurpation; and the Re-

1621. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

main of the Family, now ſeated in *Maryland*, is ſtill the richeſt and moſt wealthy, in all Kinds of Fortune and Eſtate, of any in this Part of *America*. However, ſince the *Somer-Iſlands* could not well ſubſiſt without the Profits of their Tobacco, and as the Territory of *Virginia* was large, their Soil good, and great Hopes conceived, that many other valuable Commodities would ſoon be produced and returned from thence, it was agreed, that the whole 55,000 Weight ſhould be imported from thoſe Iſlands; and the *Virginia* Company procured Storehouſes, and appointed Factors, at *Middleburg* and *Fluſhing*, and compounded with the States of thoſe Cities, for a Half Penny a Pound Cuſtom, for the Import, and the ſame Rate for the Export, of their Tobacco. So that no *Virginia* Tobacco was imported into *England*, this Year, but all was carried and diſpoſed of in *Holland*.

THE News of this State of their Affairs coming to *Virginia*, the Colony was greatly alarmed, and drew up an humble Petition to the King, ſetting forth: That his Majeſty, out of his religious Deſire to ſpeed the Goſpel of Chriſt, and princely Ambition to enlarge his Dominions, had given Encouragement to ſuch, as would go to *Virginia*, and granted them many goodly Privileges and Liberties, under the great Seal of *England*, than which they thought no earthly Aſſurance more firm and inviolable: That in Confidence hereof, they, his Majeſty's poor Subjects, had adventured their Lives and Fortunes thither; and in the Proſecution of the Enterpriſe, had undergone ſuch incredible Difficulties and Sufferings, as would be ſhocking, in the Relation, to his Majeſty's ſacred Ears: That they had now, by the Divine Aſſiſtance, in ſome Meaſure, overcome thoſe Difficulties, and brought themſelves to an Ability of ſubſiſting, without any other Help from *England*, than the uſual Courſe of Commerce; but that they had, of late, been brought into Danger, of returning into their former, or even worſe Circumſtances, by the ſiniſter Practices of ſome Members of the Company at home; who, pretending his Majeſty's Profit, but really aiming at their own exorbitant Gain, had obtained a Proclamation, to prohibit the Importation of Tobacco into *England*: That other things, of greater real Value, required more time, than their preſſing Neceſſities would allow, and more Help, to bring them to Perfection, than they had, till of late, been furniſhed withal; and that, therefore, Tobacco was the only Commodity, they had yet been able to raiſe, in order to ſupply themſelves and Families with Apparel, and other needful Supplements of Life: That, if it ſhould be thus ſuppreſſed and prohibited,

bited, they must all, of Necessity, perish, for Want of Cloathing, and such Necessaries, as both their Nature and Education required: That his Majesty would, thereby, not only lose so many good and loyal Subjects, as had adventured their Lives and Substance to *Virginia*, for the Promotion of those great Ends, the Glory of God, and his Majesty's Service, but must likewise be deprived of the Hope and Prospect, of acquiring a Territory, as large, and capable of becoming as opulent, as any of those Kingdoms, he at present possessed: Since therefore they were assured, that his Majesty tendered the Lives and Welfare of his Subjects, above Thousands of Gold and Silver, and since his Royal Word was engaged, and even ratified under the great Seal of *England*, they besought him, out of his princely Compassion, either to revoke that Proclamation, and to restore them to their ancient Liberty, or else to send for them home, and not suffer the Heathen to triumph over them. 1621. Sr *George Yeardley*, Governor.

THIS Petition was transmitted to the Treasurer and Company, and was seconded by a Letter, from Sir *George Yeardley* and the Council, to the Company; desiring, that it might be presented to his Majesty, in as humble and effectual a Manner, as possible; because, as they conceived, the very Life of the Colony depended upon the Success of it. But before it came to hand, the King was become sensible of the Damage, that hence accrued to himself, by the Diminution of his Customs. The Deputy therefore, and some others of the Company, were sent for, in *October* this Year, and received an angry Rebuke from the Lords of the Privy Council; importing, that Complaint had been made to that Board, that the Company had set up a Trade in *Holland*, and carried all their Commodities thither; and requiring an Answer, whether they would bring all their Commodities into *England*, or continue their Trade in the *Low-Countries*. To the former Part of this, the Answer was ready and obvious; that they had indeed carried their Tobacco to *Middleburg*, not out of Choice, but being constrained thereto by his Majesty's Proclamation, and an Order of their own Board. And as to the latter Part, concerning bringing all their Commodities into *England*, as it was a new and unexpected Proposition, and a Point of great Weight and future Consequence, they took some time to consider of it, and then returned a long and very respectful Answer:

THAT it was a Liberty and Privilege, generally taken and enjoyed, by all his Majesty's Subjects, to carry their Commodities to the best Markets: That many Commodities were now set on Foot, and expected soon to be returned from *Virginia*, which, altho' in some Demand in other

Countries,

1621. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

Countries, yet would not be vendible in *England*, nor pay the Expence of Freight and Cuſtom: That neither the *Muſcovy* Company, nor any other ancient Corporation, was under ſuch a Reſtraint, to whoſe greateſt Privileges and Immunities, they were entitled, by the expreſs Words of his Majeſty's Charter: That the Company had granted ſeveral Patents, with the ſame Privileges, as they themſelves enjoyed, to divers Perſons of noble and worthy Families, who had thereupon expended great Sums of Money, and ſome their whole Eſtates in the Plantation; and that it was not in their Power, nor would it be conſonant to Law or Equity, now to revoke or reſtrain them: That they conceived themſelves to have no Right or Authority, to diſpoſe of the Goods of the private Planters in *Virginia*, who are declared, by his Majeſty's Charter, to be as free, as any other his Subjects, and who had merited, by their long and hard Services, all Manner of Immunity and Encouragement: That they could not forbid or reſtrain them, from trading and bartering their Commodities freely, with ſuch Ships, as carried Paſſengers, moſt of which proceeded on trading Voyages, and returned not directly to *England:* That a Trade had lately begun between *Ireland* and *Virginia*, for Cattle and other Neceſſaries, for which Contracts were made in Tobacco; and that this Trade would hereby be nipped in the Bud, to the exceeding great Prejudice, and the Hazard of the utter Ruin of the Colony: And laſtly, That it was not in the Power of the few Members of the Company, then in Town in the time of Vacation, to conclude any thing poſitive, in an Affair of that vaſt Importance; wherein above a thouſand Adventurers in *England*, and near four thouſand Inhabitants of *Virginia*, were deeply intereſted and concerned. After which they concluded, with aſſuring their Lordſhips, that they affected no foreign Trade, but in Caſes of mere Neceſſity, and for the better Support and Advancement of the Colony; that they ſhould always endeavour at ſuch a mutual Commerce between *England* and *Virginia*, as ſhould be conſiſtent with the Honour and Benefit of both; and that, next to God's Glory, they chiefly aimed at the Good of their Country, his Majeſty's Honour, and the Advancement of his Profit and Revenue; for which Ends, they had, out of their own private Eſtates, beſides their Labour and Time, expended above an hundred thouſand Pounds, without any Return, not only of Profit, but even of the leaſt Part of the Principal itſelf, to any one of the Adventurers, that they knew of.

THIS Anſwer gave no Satisfaction to their Lordſhips; but they were referred to Mr. *Jacob*, their old Antagoniſt and

and Oppreſſor; and were likewiſe ordered, to give in their peremptory Anſwer, whether they would import, not all their Commodities, but all their Tobacco only, into *England*. With Mr. *Jacob*, they could come to no ſatisfactory Accommodation; and as to importing all their Tobacco into *England*, they beſought their Lordſhips, to be left at Liberty, either to import, or not import it into *England*, as they ſhould find it moſt beneficial to the Colony. But if they muſt be obliged to import all or none, they declared, it was their Choice, to import none into *England*, the enſuing Year. But their Lordſhips termed this an undutiful Anſwer, and commanded them, at their Peril, to bring all their Tobacco into *England*. And the Deputy and Committee, appointed to attend their Lordſhips, offering ſome Reaſons, they were told, that they were not to diſpute at that Board, but to obey; and ſo were diſmiſſed, with high Marks of their Diſpleaſure and Indignation. 1621. Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

THESE Proceedings, being reported to the Company, cauſed great Grief and Dejection among them. For the Importation of *Spaniſh*, and all other Tobaccoes, was then free; and altho' the Houſe of Commons, in their laſt Seſſion, had entered into ſome Conſideration about it, yet I cannot find, that any thing material was done in the Matter. And as to the King, out of his doating Fondneſs for the *Spaniſh* Match, and his eager Deſire, to give all poſſible Pleaſure and Advantage to his good Friend and Brother, the King of *Spain*, he was even active and diligent, to protect and advance the Importation of *Spaniſh* Tobacco. However the Deputy exhorted the Company, not to be diſcouraged at theſe Diſaſters. For he hoped, that God would ſtill exert himſelf in the Protection of *Virginia*, who had turned for the beſt, divers former Projects, which threatned the Ruin and Deſtruction of the Colony. And he deſired, that having put their Hands to the Plough, they would not now look back, or be weary of well-doing. For the Action was univerſally confeſſed, to be moſt chriſtian, honourable, and glorious, and of extreme Conſequence to the Commonwealth and Realm of *England*; and altho' they might ſeem to have caſt their Bread upon the Waters, yet after many Days, he doubted not, but they ſhould find it again, to their great Comfort and Advantage. And he farther told them, that altho' their exhauſted Treaſury had been able to do little, that Year, for ſending People to *Virginia*, yet it had pleaſed God, to ſtir up ſo many worthy Minds, for the Advancement of the Colony, that no leſs than twenty Ships were already gone, or ready to go, in which would be tranſported above a thouſand Perſons. But

by

1621. by Captain *Smith*'s Account, there were twenty one Sail of Ships sent this Year, with thirteen hundred, Men, Women, and Children; which might likewise be true, as it was only *October*, and the Year not concluded, when Mr. Deputy *Farrar* made this Report to the Company.

Sir *George Yeardley*, Governor.

MR. *Copeland*, Chaplain to the *Royal James*, an *East-India* Ship just returned to *England*, by his Example and Persuasions, prevailed on the Ship's Company, to contribute seventy Pounds, towards building a Church or a Free-school in *Virginia*; and an unknown Person gave thirty Pounds more, to make the Benefaction an hundred; to which twenty five Pounds were afterwards added, by another unknown Person. It was therefore determined, to build a School at *Charles-City* (which was judged the most commodious Place, and most convenient to all Parts of the Colony) by the Name of the *East-India* School; and the Company allotted, for the Maintenance of the Master and Usher, a thousand Acres of Land, with five Servants and an Overseer. This School was to be collegiate, and to have Dependence upon the College at *Henrico*; into which, as soon as the College was sufficiently endowed, and capable to receive them, the Scholars were to be admitted and advanced, according to their Deserts and Proficiency in Learning. Mr. *Copeland* was also presented with the Freedom of the Company, and with three hundred Acres of Land in *Virginia*. And Carpenters were accordingly sent over for this Purpose, early the next Year.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

ON the 18th of *November*, Sir *Francis Wyat* entered upon his Government; but instead of his hundred Tenants, he received only forty six from Sir *George Yeardley*, who refused to make the Number good, as he was under no such Contract with the Company, when he came Governor, and as he had even offered to surrender them all back again, into the Company's Hands. Sir *Francis* sent Mr. *Thorpe* immediately, to *Opitchapan* and *Opechancanough*, to confirm all former Leagues, between the *English* and them. They both expressed great Satisfaction at the Arrival of this new Governor, and were content, that the *English* should inhabit the Country; and Mr. *Thorpe* thought, that he perceived more Motions of Religion in *Opechancanough*, than could easily be imagined, in so great Ignorance and Blindness. He acknowledged his own Religion, not to be the right Way; and desired, to be instructed in the *Christian* Faith. He confessed, that God loved the *English* better than them; and he thought, the Cause of God's Anger against them was their Custom of conjuring their Children, and making them black Boys. He had also some Knowledge

ledge of the Heavens; had obſerved the North Star, and the Courſe of the Conſtellation about it; and called the Great Bear, *Manguahaian*, which, in their Language, ſignified the ſame. He gave Mr. *Thorpe* Hopes of their entertaining ſome *Engliſh* Families among them, and their ſending ſome of theirs to cohabit with the *Engliſh*; and confirmed a former Promiſe, of ſending a Guide with the *Engliſh* to ſome Mines beyond the Falls. But all theſe fair Profeſſions and Promiſes ſeem to have been only Diſſimulation and Policy. For that ſavage Prince certainly never had any real Friendſhip or Love for the *Engliſh*; but watched all proper Opportunities and Pretences, to do them Miſchief, or even utterly deſtroy them. It was likewiſe ordered, upon the Acceſſion of this new Governor, that the Colony ſhould only tend a thouſand Plants, for every Head, with nine Leaves on each Plant; which, by their Computation, would amount to about an hundred Weight, according to the Company's expreſs Inſtructions, in Conſequence of his Majeſty's Deſire and Advice. Mr. *Gookin* too, who was under Contract with the Company for Cattle, arrived with them out of *Ireland*, on the 22d of *November*; and he brought with him fifty Men of his own, and thirty Paſſengers, exceedingly well furniſhed with all Kinds of Proviſion, and ſeated himſelf at *Newport*'s-*News*. The Inhabitants alſo made a Contribution of fifteen hundred Pounds, to build a Gueſt-Houſe, for the Reception and Entertainment of New-Comers; which was accordingly undertaken, and in a Way of being well executed, by Lieutenant *Jabez Whitaker*, to his own great Commendation, and to the general Satisfaction of the People here, and the Company in *London*.

1621. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

BEFORE I finiſh this Year, it will not be improper, briefly to remark, what then paſſed in the Parliament of *England*. There were two Seſſions of Parliament, this Year. The firſt began in *January*, and paſſed off peaceably. They granted the King Money, to ſupport the *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and were content to ſuppreſs ſome Monopolies, without touching on their Author, the Marquiſs of *Buckingham*, altho' he was generally known, and even plainly accuſed of it, by Sir *Henry Yelverton*, the late Attorney General. However I do not find, that the Monopoly of Tobacco came under their Reſtraint. Only the eminent Lawyers of the Houſe of Commons declared the Patent for Garbling utterly illegal, and a great Grievance in the Erection, but much more ſo, if it ſhould be brought into Execution. And this Seſſion had alſo another good Effect: For at their very firſt Meeting

1621. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

ing, the Reſtraint on Tobacco was taken off, and Liberty given, at leaſt by Connivance, freely to import it into *England*; which indeed, I ſuppoſe, was the Reaſon, that neither the Company's Petition was delivered, nor any thing elſe done in the Houſe of Commons, with Relation to that unlawful, unjuſt, and oppreſſive Monopoly.

THE ſecond Seſſion began the 20th of *November*, and was hot and angry. The Diſpute between the King and the Houſe of Commons, concerning the Extent of the Royal Prerogative, and the Rights, Franchiſes, and Privileges of Parliament, roſe ſo high, that the King firſt adjourned, and then diſſolved them, in a Paſſion. However, before that could be done, the Commons entered upon their Journals a Proteſtation, aſſerting their Parliamentary Rights and Privileges. But the King, eleven Days after the Adjournment, called for the Clerk of the Houſe of Commons; and demanding the Journals, he declared, in full Council, and in the Preſence of all the Judges then in Town, that it was invalid, annulled, void, and of no Effect; and did moreover, with his own Hand, take the ſaid Proteſtation, out of the Journal-Book of the Houſe of Commons. And not content with theſe Marks of his Diſpleaſure, he proceeded farther againſt ſome of the warmeſt of the Houſe of Commons; whom he ſtiled fiery, popular, and ill-tempered Spirits. Sir *Edwin Sandys* was impriſoned, during the Seſſion, which cauſed a great Tumult in the Houſe. And altho' the King, upon the Houſe's ſending a Meſſage to Sir *Edwin*, to know the Reaſon of his Confinement, declared, in a Letter to the Speaker, that it was not for any Miſdemeanor in Parliament, yet I ſuſpect, his Impriſonment was deſigned, to prevent him from acting with Vigor, in the Caſe of the Monopoly, and other illegal Oppreſſions on Tobacco; and this the more eſpecially, as I can no where find, that any Reaſon or Pretence was given for his Commitment. However the King's Opinion, concerning his Power over the Members, was plainly expreſſed in that Letter. For he orders the Speaker, to tell the Houſe, in his Name, that he conceived himſelf, to have both Right and Ability, to puniſh any Man's Miſdemeanors in Parliament, as well during their ſitting, as after; which Power he meant not hereafter to ſpare, as Occaſion ſhould be adminiſtered, by the inſolent Behaviour of any of their Members. And agreeably to this Declaration, Sir *Edward Coke*, the great Lawyer, Sir *Robert Philips*, Mr. *John Selden*, another Prodigy of Law and all Kinds of Knowledge, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Mallery*, were impriſoned, after the Receſs, profeſſedly for their Behaviour

haviour in Parliament. And Sir *Dudley Digges*, Sir *Thomas Crew*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, and Sir *James Perrot*, were sent into *Ireland*, under Pretence of enquiring into sundry Matters, relating to his Majesty's Service in that Kingdom, but, in reality, by Way of Banishment. The Earls of *Oxford* and *Southampton* were likewise sent to the Tower, soon after the Dissolution, on some far-fetched Pretences. But the true Reason was easily and publickly perceived, and that their real Crime was, having spoke too freely in Parliament, concerning the King's Conduct. 1621. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

I have made this Relation, not so much as it is a remarkable Æra in the *English* History, which gave Rise to two professed Parties; the one for the King's Prerogative, and the other for the Rights of Parliament and the Liberty of the Subject; nor as it was also the first open Breach, between the King and the People, which, by subsequent Provocations and Heart-burnings, at last broke out, into a most unhappy and virulent Civil War. But I have mentioned these things chiefly, as they relate to my Subject, and will contribute to let the Reader more fully, into the Springs and Motives of some future Transactions. For it will be readily perceived, that many of the most eminent and active Oppofers, in Parliament, of the King's arbitrary Views, were also principal and leading Members of the *Virginia* Company; and it is well known, with what an Eye of Jealousy and Displeasure, that Prince ever looked upon such, as dared to stand up for the Liberty of their Country, or were so far infected, with the mortal Taint of a publick (or as he thought it) a republican Spirit, as to oppose his Claim to an unlimited and despotic Power. It will not therefore be surprising, to find him hereafter, notwithstanding his many affected and anile Professions of Love and Affection to the Colonies, not only much disgusted at the Company, and little inclined to do them any Favour, but even, in their Dissolution, making a Stretch of that Prerogative, which many of them had the Boldness, to question and withstand.

BUT the Colony being now much enlarged and encreased, it was found very troublesome, to bring all Causes to *James-Town*. Inferior Courts were therefore, in the Beginning of the Year 1622, appointed in convenient Places, to relieve the Governor and Council from this vast Burthen of Business, and to render Justice the more cheap and accessible. This was the Original and Foundation of our County Courts; altho' the Country was not yet laid off in Counties, but still continued in Townships and particular Plantations, as they called those Settlements, which were 1622.

not

1622. not considerable enough, to have the Title and Privileges of Burroughs.

Sr. *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

BUT this Year is rendered most memorable in our Annals, by a cruel and bloody Massacre, concerted by *Opechancanough* and the *Indians*, and executed on the *English* Colony, upon the 22d of *March*, on the following Occasion and Manner. There was a noted *Indian*, called *Nemattanow*, who was wont, out of Bravery and Parade, to dress himself up, in a strange antic and barbaric Fashion, with Feathers; which therefore obtained him, among the *English*, the Name of *Jack of the Feather*. This *Indian* was highly renowned among his Countrymen, for Courage and Policy; and was universally esteemed by them the greatest War-Captain of those Times. He had been in many Skirmishes and Engagements with the *English*, and bravely exposed his Person; yet by his Activity, Conduct, and good Fortune, he had always escaped without a Wound. This, aided by his Craft and Ambition, easily wrought, in the Minds of those ignorant and superstitious Barbarians a fond Conceit, that he was invulnerable and immortal. This Captain came to the House of one *Morgan*, who had many such Commodities, as suited the rude Taste of the *Indians*. Being smit with the Desire of some of those Baubles, he persuaded *Morgan* to go with him to *Pamunkey*, upon the Promise and Assurance of a certain and advantageous Traffick. But, upon the Way, he murdered the poor credulous *Englishman*; and within two or three Days, returned again to his House. There were only two sturdy Lads there, the late *Morgan*'s Servants; who seeing him wear their Master's Cap, asked for their Master, and *Jack* frankly told them, he was dead. Being confirmed in their Suspicion, they seised him, and endeavoured to carry him before Mr. *Thorpe*, who then lived at *Berkeley*. But *Jack* so provoked them, by his Resistance and Insolence, that at last they shot him down, and put him into a Boat, in order to carry him before the Governor, who was then within seven or eight Miles of the Place. On the Way, our fainting Immortal felt the Pangs of Death very strong upon him, and earnestly entreated the Boys, to grant him two things; first, never to make it known, that he was slain by a Bullet; and secondly, to bury him among the *English*, that the certain Knowledge, and Monument of his Mortality, might be still concealed, and kept from the Sight of his Countrymen. Such was the Vanity of this poor Barbarian, and so strong his Desire of false Glory in the Opinion of others, against the Experience and plain Conviction of his own Sense.

Opechancanough

Opechancanough was a haughty, politic, and bloody Man, ever intent on the Deſtruction of the *Engliſh*, and ready to catch at every Pretence, for effecting his Purpoſe. He had been diſcovered, the Year before, tampering with a King on the *Eaſtern Shore*, to furniſh him with a Poiſon, either real or ſuppoſed, in order to poiſon the *Engliſh* Colony. He had alſo been accuſed to the Governor, of a Deſign, to draw together a very great Force, under Colour of celebrating ſome funeral Rites to *Powhatan*, but really with Intent to cut off all the *Engliſh*. But Sir *George Yeardley*, by this Information, was rendered very watchful of his Motions; ſo that he was either diſappointed in his Scheme, or elſe, as Sir *George* thought, had never really formed any ſuch Deſign. As to this Warrior, he was ſo far from being in his Favour, that he had ſent Word to Sir *George Yeardley*, ſome time before, that he ſhould be content, if his Throat were cut. Yet he being a popular Man, and much lamented by the *Indians*, *Opechancanough* pretended, the better to enflame and exaſperate them, to be much grieved at his Death, and was very loud, at firſt, in his Threats of Revenge. But the Reaſon and Juſtice of the thing being evinced, and receiving alſo ſome ſtern and reſolute Anſwers from the *Engliſh*, he cunningly diſſembled his Intent for the preſent, and treated a Meſſenger, ſent to him about the Middle of *March*, with extreme Civility and Kindneſs; aſſuring him, that he held the Peace ſo firm, that the Sky ſhould fall ſooner, than it ſhould be violated on his Part. And ſuch was the Treachery and Diſſimulation of the reſt of the *Indians*, that, but two Days before, they kindly conducted the *Engliſh* through the Woods, and ſent home one that lived among them, to learn their Language. Nay, on the very Morning of that fatal Day, as alſo the Evening before, they came, as at other times, unarmed into the Houſes of the *Engliſh*, with Deer, Turkies, Fiſh, Fruits, and other things to ſell; and in ſome Places, ſat down to Breakfaſt with them. Yet ſo general was the Combination, and their Plot ſo well laid, to cut off the whole Colony, in one Day, and at the ſame Inſtant, that they had all Warning, one from another, through all their Habitations, though far diſtant from each other, and every Party and Nation had their Stations appointed, and Parts aſſigned, at the Plantations of the *Engliſh*, ſome being directed to one Place, and ſome to another. 1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor,

THE *Engliſh*, on the other hand, were by this Behaviour, as well as on other Accounts, lulled into a fatal Security. They thought the Peace ſure and inviolable, not ſo much becauſe of their ſolemn Promiſes and Engage-

1622.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

ments, as becauſe it was highly uſeful and neceſſary to the *Indians* themſelves. For thoſe poor, weak and naked Barbarians were, every way, advantaged by the *Engliſh*. By the Peace, they were fully ſheltered and defended from all other Enemies; they were ſupplied with ſeveral neceſſary Tools and Utenſils, and other Commodities of Pleaſure and Entertainment; they were ſomething acquainted with, and got a Taſte of Civil Life; and were beſides no ways in a Condition, to withſtand an *Engliſh* War, becauſe of the Superiority of their Arms, the Advantage of their Diſcipline and native Courage, and their greater Skill in all military Arts and Stratagems. The *Engliſh* had likewiſe ever treated them, with the utmoſt Humanity and Kindneſs, out of the Hope and Deſire, of thereby alluring and bringing them over, to the Knowledge of God and his true Religion. For nothing was more earneſtly recommended from *England*, or more heartily deſired and endeavoured by many good and pious Perſons of the Colony, than their Converſion; which, agreeably to the Spirit of the Goſpel, and of the Proteſtant Religion, and greatly to the Honour of our Nation, was always purſued, by the Ways of Gentleneſs and Perſuaſion, and never by thoſe unchriſtian Arguments of Fire and Sword. On all theſe Accounts, the *Engliſh* were ſo confident and ſecure, that there could ſeldom be met with, in their Houſes, a Sword or a Firelock, and moſt of their Plantations were ſeated in a ſcattered and ſtraggling Manner, as a convenient Situation, or a choice Vein of rich Land invited them; and indeed it was generally thought, the further from Neighbours the better. All *Indians* were kindly received into their Houſes, fed at their Tables, and even lodged in their Bedchambers; ſo that they ſeemed, entirely to have coaleſced, and to live together, as one People. And the *Engliſh* were ſo far infatuated, by an Opinion of their Simplicity, and of their Inclination, and even Intereſt, to maintain the Peace, that they lent them their Boats, as they paſſed backwards and forwards, to concert their Meaſures, and to conſult upon the execrable Deſign of murdering and utterly extirpating the whole Nation.

THE Hour appointed being come, and the *Indians*, by reaſon of their Familiarity, knowing exactly, in what Places and Quarters every *Engliſhman* was to be found, roſe upon them at once, ſparing neither Sex nor Age, Man, Woman, nor Child; and they were ſo quick and ſudden in their Execution, that few perceived the Weapon or Blow, that brought them to their End. Some entered their Houſes, under Colour of Trade; others drew them abroad, upon ſpecious Pretences; whilſt the reſt fell ſuddenly on thoſe,

thoſe, that were at their ſeveral Works and Labours. And thus, in one Hour, and almoſt at the ſame Inſtant, fell three hundred and forty ſeven, Men, Women, and Children; moſt of them, by their own Tools and Weapons, and all, by the Hands of a perfidious, naked, and daſtardly People, who durſt not ſtand the preſenting of a Staff, in Manner of a Firelock, nor an uncharged Piece, in the Hands of a Woman. Neither were they content with their Lives only; but they fell again upon their dead Bodies, defacing, dragging, and mangling them into many Pieces, and carrying ſome Parts away, with a baſe and brutiſh Triumph. 1622. *Sir Francis Wyat*, Governor.

In this Havock, ſix of the Council were ſlain. For thoſe Blood-hounds, with equal Spight and Barbarity, murdered all before them, without any Remorſe or Pity, and without having any Regard to Dignity, or even to thoſe Perſons who were beſt known to them, or from whom they had daily received many Benefits. Among theſe was that pious, worthy, and religious Gentleman, Mr. *George Thorpe*, Deputy to the College Lands, and both in Command and Deſert, one of the Principal in *Virginia*. He had been of the King's Bed-Chamber, and was a Perſon of conſiderable Figure in *England*. Yet ſo truly and earneſtly did he affect their Converſion, that he left all at home, and came over chief Manager to the College, a Foundation deſigned for their Education and Converſion. And here he ſeverely puniſhed, whoſoever, under him, did them the leaſt Diſpleaſure. He thought, nothing too dear or precious for them, nor ever denied them any thing. Inſomuch that, being frightened at the *Engliſh* Maſtives, he cauſed ſome of them to be killed in their Preſence, to the great Grief of their Owners, and would fain have had all the reſt gelt, to make them mild and peaceable. He alſo built the King a handſome Houſe, after the *Engliſh* Faſhion; in which he took ſuch Pleaſure, eſpecially in the Lock and Key, that he would lock and unlock his Door, an hundred Times a Day, and was ſo taken with the Device, that he thought nothing in the World comparable to it. And thus inſinuating himſelf into that Barbarian's Favour, he would often confer with him about Religion; and that treacherous Infidel would ſeem much pleaſed with his Diſcourſe and Company, and very deſirous to requite all his Courteſy and Kindneſs. Yet did this ungrateful and viperous Brood, not only murder this good Gentleman, but with ſuch Spight and Scorn abuſe his dead Corps, as is unfit to be heard, or related. At the very Minute of the Execution, his Man, perceiving ſome Treachery, warned him to look to himſelf; and

1622. Sir Francis Wyat, Governor.

and withal ran off, and so saved his own Life. But his Master, out of his good Meaning, was so void of Suspicion, and full of Confidence, that they had slain him before he could, or would believe, they intended any Harm. Captain *Nathaniel Powel*, another of the Council, who had some time been Governor of the Country, was also killed. He was one of the first Planters, a brave Soldier, had deserved well in all Ways, was universally valued and esteemed by all Parties and Factions, and none in the Country better known among the *Indians*. Yet they slew both him and his Family; and afterwards haggled their Bodies, and cut off his Head, to express their utmost Height of Scorn and Cruelty.

THIS Slaughter was a deep and grievous Wound to the yet weak and Infant Colony; but it would have been much more general, and almost universal, if God had not put it into the Heart of a converted *Indian*, to make a Discovery. This Convert, whose Name was *Chanco*, lived with one *Richard Pace*, who treated him, as his own Son. The Night before the Massacre, another *Indian*, his Brother, lay with him; and telling him the King's Command, and that the Execution would be performed the next Day, he urged him to rise and kill *Pace*, as he intended to do by *Perry*, his Friend. As soon as his Brother was gone, the *Christian Indian* rose, and went and revealed the whole Matter to *Pace*; who immediately gave Notice thereof to Captain *William Powel*, and having secured his own House, rowed off before Day to *James-Town*, and informed the Governor of it. By this Means, their Design was prevented at *James-Town*, and all such Plantations, as could possibly get Intelligence in time. For where-ever they saw the *English* upon their Guard, or a single Musket presented, they ran off, and abandoned their Attempt.

SUCH also, at other Places, as had sufficient Warning to make Resistance, saved their Lives. *Nathaniel Causie*, one of Captain *Smith*'s old Soldiers, being cruelly wounded, did, with an Ax, cleave down one of their Sculls; and tho' they were all about him, yet they fled away, and he escaped. At another Place, two Men only, having Notice of their Design, defended a House against sixty or more, that assaulted it. At *Warrasquoake*, one Mr. *Baldwin*, whom his Wife was so wounded, that she lay for dead, yet by often discharging his Piece, drove them off, and saved both her and his House, together with himself and divers others. At Mr. *Harrison*'s, about half a Mile from *Baldwin*'s, was Mr. *Thomas Hamor*, with six Men, and eighteen or nineteen Women and Children. To him the *Indians*,

dians came, with many Presents and fair Promises. They pretended, they wanted Capt. *Ralph Hamor*, to go to their King, then hunting in the Woods. Mr. *Hamor* sent immediately for his Brother, who was at a new House, he was then building. But he not coming according to their Wish, they set Fire to a Tobacco House, and came and told them in the Dwelling House of it. The Men ran towards it; and the *Indians* following, first shot them full of Arrows, and afterwards beat out their Brains. Mr. *Hamor*, having finished a Letter he was writing, ran out to see what was the Matter. But he soon received an Arrow in his Back, which obliged him to retire into the House, and barricade the Doors. Hereupon the *Indians* set Fire to the House; but *Harrison*'s Boy, just at that Instant, finding his Master's Gun loaded, shot at Random. At the bare Report, the *Indians* all fled; and thereby left the Way open, to Mr. *Hamor* and twenty two more, to get to *Baldwin*'s House. Captain *Ralph Hamor*, all this while, was wholly ignorant of what was passing; but coming to his Brother, who had sent for him, he met the *Indians*, chasing some of the *English*. Whereupon he retired to his new House, and with only Spades, Axes, and Brickbats, defended himself and his Company, till the Savages departed. Soon after, the Master of a Ship, lying near, and perceiving the Confusion, sent him six Musketeers; with whom he recovered their Merchant's Store-house, and armed ten more; and so, with thirty other unarmed Workmen, he found out his Brother and the rest, at *Baldwin*'s. But in the Midst of this miserable Slaughter and Uproar, a little House and small Family, not far from *Martin*'s Hundred, at which Place alone seventy three were slain, not only escaped, but never heard any thing of it, till two Days after.

Mrs. [illegible] Gov. [illegible]

AT this time also, Captain *Ralph Croshaw* was in *Patowmack* River, trading in a small Bark, commanded by Captain *Spilman*. There an *Indian* stole aboard, and told them of the Massacre; and that *Opechancanough* had been practising with his King and Country, to betray them, which they refused to do; but that the *Indians* of *Wighcocomico* had undertaken it. Hereupon Captain *Spilman* went thither. But they, seeing his Men so vigilant and well armed, suspected themselves to be discovered; and therefore, the better to colour their Guilt, and delude him, they gave him such Satisfaction in his Trade, that his Vessel was soon near loaded. After this, Captain *Croshaw* went up to *Patowmack*. He had been long acquainted with that King; who now very earnestly entreated him, to stay with him, and to be his Friend, his Director, and Captain, against several neigh-

1622. neighbouring Nations, his mortal Enemies. *Croſhaw* very readily embraced his Offer; as well to promote ſome private Views of his own in Trade, as to keep him firm to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and make him an uſeful Opponent and Inſtrument againſt *Opechancanough*. Therefore, relying on the Faith of this Barbarian, he ventured, with one Man only, to ſtay behind at *Potowmack*.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

In the Beginning of this Year, before the Contrivance and Perpetration of this bloody Conſpiracy in *Virginia*, the unknown Gentleman in *England*, who had given five hundred and fifty Pounds, towards the Converſion and Education of *Indian* Children, having waited two Years, and received no ſatisfactory Account of the effectual Proſecution of his Deſign, wrote a Letter to the Company. Herein he complains, that what was done in that Affair, did by no means anſwer his Expectation or Intent. And he requires, of the whole Body of the Company, towards which he expreſſes much Reſpect, and an entire Confidence in their Uprightneſs and Integrity, that, as he had entruſted the Diſpoſal of that Money, a great and painfully gotten Part of his Eſtate, to their Care and Management, ſo they would ſee the ſame, ſpeedily and faithfully applied, to the Uſe intended. And he further propoſed to them, the procuring ſome of the male Children of the *Indians* to be brought over into *England* (where they might be immediately under the Company's Eye and Inſpection) there to be educated and taught, and to wear a Habit, as the Children of *Chriſt-Church* Hoſpital do. In that Caſe, he deſires, that the five hundred and fifty Pounds might be converted to that Uſe; and he faithfully promiſes, to add four hundred and fifty Pounds more, to make the former Sum a thouſand, as ſoon as eight or ten *Indian* Children ſhould be placed in *London*, either in *Chriſt's-Hoſpital*, or in the *Virginia* School or Hoſpital, as it might be called; which, he doubted not, would be Yearly augmented, by the Legacies and Gifts of good Men. But if they liked not this Propoſition, then it was his humble Suit and Motion, that the former Gift, of five hundred and fifty Pounds, ſhould be immediately applied, and wholly beſtowed, upon a Free-ſchool in *Southampton* Hundred, or ſuch other Place, as he or his Friends ſhould approve: That in this School, properly endowed with ſuch Privileges, as they, in their Wiſdom, ſhould think fit, both *Engliſh* and *Indians* ſhould be promiſcuouſly taught and brought up together: and that great Care ſhould be taken, to find over ſuch a Maſter, as ſhould bring a ſound Teſtimonial, of his Sufficiency in Learning, and Sincerity of Life. And ſo praying, that the Lord would give them wiſe and under-

underſtanding Hearts, that his Work herein might not be negligently performed, he concludes, and ſubſcribes himſelf *Duſt and Aſhes*; a Name which he had ever, from the firſt, aſſumed and made Uſe of, in this Affair. 1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THIS important Letter being read in Court, Sir *Edwin Sandys* gave the Company a particular Account of that whole Buſineſs: That the Money had been brought, in the Time of his being Treaſurer: That, upon mature Deliberation, it was reſolved by the Company, to divide it between *Smith*'s, ſince called *Southampton* Hundred, and *Martin*'s Hundred; each to undertake for a certain Number of *Infidel* Children: That *Martin*'s Hundred, being then in a very weak and confuſed Condition, was after ſome, at the Entreaty of the Adventurers, eaſed from that Burthen and Charge, and the Whole laid on *Southampton* Hundred: That that Society, conſidering the Weight and Difficulty, as well as the Hazard of ſucceeding, were alſo very unwilling to meddle with it, and offered an hundred Pounds, to be added to the former five hundred and fifty, if they might be excuſed from it; but being earneſtly preſſed, they did at laſt yield to accept and undertake it: That after much and careful Conſultation, it was agreed by that Society, to employ the ſaid Money, together with a far greater Sum out of the Society's Purſe, to furniſh out Captain *Bluet*, with eighty able and ſufficient Workmen, for ſetting up an Iron-Work in *Virginia*; whereof the Profits accruing, were intended and ordered, in a ratable Proportion, to be faithfully employed, in educating thirty *Indian* Children, according to the Directions and Intent of the Donor: That Letters were likewiſe ſent to Sir *George Yeardley*, then Governor of *Virginia*, and Captain alſo of *Southampton* Plantation; not only giving him large Advice and Direction therein, but alſo commending the Excellency and Piety of the Deſign, and adjuring him to employ his utmoſt Care and Induſtry in it, as a Work, whereon the Eyes of God and Men were fixed: That in Anſwer hereto, Sir *George* informed them, how difficult it was to obtain any of the Children, with the Conſent and good Liking of their Parents; as well on Account of their Tenderneſs and Fondneſs of them, as out of their Fear of hard Uſage from the *Engliſh*: That he therefore recommended a Treaty with *Opechancanough*; which was accordingly ordered, and Sir *George* promiſed, to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours therein: That this Backwardneſs and Jealouſy of the *Indians* was not the only Hindrance to that pious Work; for Captain *Bluet* dying ſoon after his Arrival, it occaſioned another great Stop: That, however, Care had ſince been taken, to reſtore that

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

Iron-Work, by a freſh Supply; ſo that he hoped, the Gentleman would ſoon receive good Satisfaction, concerning the Diſpoſal and Effect of his Charity, as he was ſure, they would, at all times, be both ready and willing to give a faithful Account of the Employment of the ſaid Money.

SIR *Edwin Sandys* further ſaid, that as he could not but highly commend the Gentleman, for this his worthy and moſt chriſtian Action, ſo he had obſerved great Inconvenience to ariſe from his Modeſty, by ſhunning Oſtentation and vain Glory, and concealing his Name. For they were thereby deprived of that mutual Help and Advice, which they might otherwiſe have, by Conference with him. Neither could he receive ſuch clear Satisfaction, or fully know, with what Integrity and Care, the Affair had been managed; the Succeſs whereof muſt be ſubmitted to the Will and Pleaſure of Almighty God, as it had been already commended to his Bleſſing. But as to the two Methods, now propoſed in his Letter, he doubted greatly for his Part, whether either of them would attain the deſired Effect. For, to ſend for them to *England*, would be far from anſwering the End, if he might judge from the Experience of thoſe, brought over by Sir *Thomas Dale*. And to build a Free-ſchool for them in *Virginia*, he feared, conſidering, in their preſent Dotage on Tobacco, that no proper Workmen could be had, but at exceſſive Rates, it would rather tend to exhauſt this ſacred Treaſure in ſome ſmall Edifice, than to accompliſh ſuch a Foundation, as might ſatisfy Mens Expectations and Deſires. He therefore again wiſhed, that a Meeting might be had, between the Gentleman, or his Friends, and the Society of *Southampton* Hundred. That ſo, all things being fully debated, and judiciouſly weighed, ſome Courſe might be entered upon and purſued, for advancing and bringing to Effect ſo pious and excellent a Work; for which he prayed the Bleſſing of Almighty God to be upon the Author: And all the Company anſwered, and ſaid, *Amen*.

BUT this charitable Gentleman, however ſtudious he was to conceal himſelf, was afterwards (if any Credit may be given to Captain *Martin*'s Report) found to be Mr. *Gabriel Barber*, the chief Manager and Book-keeper of their Lotteries, and a very worthy, honeſt, and uſeful Member of the Company. He was himſelf then preſent, and heard this Account, with which he ſeems to have been ſatisfied. For he made no farther Demand or Stir in the Matter; but continued afterwards, in the time of their ſubſequent Quarrels and Diſſentions, a very hearty and ſtrenuous Friend to the Company. Mr. *George Ruggles* alſo, Fellow of *Clare-Hall*, in *Cambridge*, and a Brother of the Company, did,

the

the latter End of this Year, notwithſtanding the News of the Maſſacre, bequeath an hundred Pounds, for the Education of *Indians*. He is repreſented as a Gentleman, who was eſteemed, in that Univerſity, ſecond to none in Knowledge and Learning, of very great Wiſdom and Underſtanding, of ſingular Honeſty and Integrity of Life, and very ſincere and zealous in Religion. And he had, for the three laſt Years of his Life, almoſt wholly exerciſed and employed his Time and Abilities, in the Service of the Colony. For, beſides the Counſels and Aſſiſtances of himſelf and his Brethren, in their ſeveral Places, he wrote divers Treatiſes, for the Benefit of the Plantation; particularly one concerning the Government of *Virginia*, which is often mentioned, in the Company's Records, with Commendation, eſpecially by Sir *Edwin Sandys*.

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

BUT there ſucceeding, immediately upon this violent and injurious Aſſault, a continual and exterminating War between the *Engliſh* and the *Indians*, all the Difficulties of their Converſion were greatly encreaſed; and I do not find, what farther was done, with Relation to theſe Benefactions. The College People alſo received a great and deadly Slaughter in the Maſſacre; which, together with the Death of Mr. *Thorpe*, their grand Principle of Life and Action, cauſed them to abandon the College Lands, and to retire lower down the River, to ſuch Places as were more defenſible againſt the ſudden Aſſaults and Inroads of the *Indians*, becauſe of the greater Numbers of People, and the nearer Situation, and more ready Aſſiſtance, of other Plantations. Thus did that brutiſh and unhappy People tear up, as it were, with their own Hands, the Foundations, which had been laid, for their Converſion to Chriſtianity and Civility of Life. For altho' the Company, in *London*, did afterwards frequently enter upon ſerious Conſultation, about reſtoring again and ſetting forward this charitable Work, yet by reaſon of their own Troubles, and of the Factions and Diſcords among themſelves, nothing therein was ever brought to Effect. So that, from this time, there was no publick Attempt, nor any School or Inſtitution, purpoſely deſigned for their Education and Converſion, before the Benefaction of the late Honourable *Robert Boyle*, Eſq; which ſhall be fully related, in its proper Time and Place.

BUT whilſt the Colony in *Virginia* lay under the Preſſure and Calamity of this bloody Maſſacre, the Company in *England* were greatly rejoiced and encouraged, by the favourable Account of things, which they received, about that time, from the Governor and Council. For they were informed, by their Letters, that all the Ships were ſafely arrived,

without

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

without the Loſs of one Perſon, by Sea or Land; that Mr. *John Berkeley* had put the Iron Works in ſo good a Forwardneſs, that he doubted not to begin to make Iron, by *Whitſuntide*; that the Cotton Trees proſpered exceedingly well; that the *Frenchmen* declared the Mulberry Trees of *Virginia* to be of the very beſt Kind; and daily, by their Example, encouraged the People to plant them in Abundance, ſo that they were in high Expectation, of ſhortly ſucceeding in, and bringing to Perfection, that rich Commodity of Silk; that the *French* Vignerons had conceived great Hopes, of ſpeedily making Plenty of good Wine, whereof they had already made an Experiment, and ſent home a Taſte by that Ship; and in ſhort, that they now had a fairer Proſpect, and more certain Hope, than ever yet, of ſoon becoming a rich and flouriſhing Country. For which joyful News, and happy Succeſs, the Company voted and reſolved, that a Sermon ſhould be preached, to teſtify and expreſs their Thankfulneſs to God, for his Bleſſing on their Labours and Undertaking. And Mr. *Copeland*, a Brother of the Society, who, by his hearty Zeal for the Enterpriſe, was well acquainted with the Succeſs of their Affairs, for the laſt Year, was requeſted to undertake the Performance of this holy Exerciſe; which he accordingly did, at *Bow* Church, the 17th Day of *April*.

MR. *Copeland* was alſo himſelf, ſoon after, publickly entreated by the Company, to go over in Perſon to *Virginia*, and to apply himſelf to the Miniſtry there. And in Conſideration of his good Services and worthy Endeavours, which had redounded much to the Honour and Benefit of the Colony, as alſo in Reſpect of his known Sufficiency and Worth, they conſtituted him one of the Council of State, and appointed him Rector of the College for the Converſion of *Indians*, to receive, as a Salary, the tenth Part of the Profits ariſing from their Lands and the Labours of their Tenants; and alſo to have the Paſtoral Charge of the College Tenants about him, which were to be erected into a Parſonage, according to the Company's general Order in that Behalf. But this Deſign, together with all their ſanguine Hopes and Ideas of an immediately rich and proſperous Country, was daſhed to Pieces and cut off, by the Maſſacre. The Iron-Work on *Falling* Creek, in particular, was entirely ruined and demoliſhed, and Mr. *John Berkeley* ſlain, with all his Workmen and People, except one Boy only and a Girl, who found Means to hide themſelves, and eſcape. Their Preparations likewiſe, for other Commodities and Manufactures, were quite deſtroyed and deſerted; the People, all this Summer, being in ſuch a State of Ter-

ror

ror and Flight, that they did not even make Corn for their Support and Subsistence. 1622.

To this sad Posture of Affairs in the Colony, was added the continual Increase of the Company's Dissensions and Animosities at home, which became daily more furious and irreconcileable. Captain *Argall* and that Faction, omitted no imaginable Methods of Vexation and Trouble; and the more to disparage and perplex the Company's Proceedings, they were perpetually raising new Authors and fresh Subjects of Complaint, as well to the Publick, as most especially to the King, and to the great Lords and powerful Persons of his Court. It hath been already said, that Captain *John Martin* came over, one of the Council of State, in the first Adventure; and there hath been frequent Occasion since, to mention his weak Conduct and Behaviour here. This Gentleman was well born, and nearly related to Sir *Julius Cæsar*, then Master of the Rolls. In the Time of Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Treasurership, he had surreptitiously obtained a Grant, to be Master of the Ordinance in *Virginia*; as also a most extravant and illegal Patent for Land, at the Place, which he himself named *Martin*'s Brandon. For, by the express Words of his Majesty's Charter, the Company was restrained to their four great and general Quarter Courts, one to be held each Term, for transacting any Business of great Importance, and particularly for granting Lands in *Virginia*. But both these Grants, to Captain *Martin*, had been passed in a private Court, called purposely for that Jobb, and could never after receive the Assent and Confirmation of a Quarter Court. For the Company, being apprised of the Matter, strongly opposed their Execution, and endeavoured to keep them from taking Effect. Captain *Argall* in particular, when Governor of *Virginia*, had sent home grievous Complaints, against the Exorbitancies of *Martin*'s Patent and Behaviour; and both Sir *Thomas Smith* and Alderman *Johnson*, at that time Treasurer and Deputy of the Company, had been willing and assisting, to stop and prevent these Grants from being further confirmed, and receiving the legal Sanction of a Quarter Court. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

But now, the Company's withholding Captain *Martin* from the Fruition of those Privileges and Immunities, which appeared to have been granted under their Seal, being, at first Sight, a specious Pretence of Clamour and Complaint, which might be turned to disgrace and vilify the Justice and Honour of their Proceedings, these very Gentlemen instigated and assisted him, to get a Certificate under the Hands of several noble Lords, and others, and to have it delivered in to the Company, by one Captain *Haswell*. The Purport

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

port of this Writing was: That whereas *John Martin* Esq; having been a long and faithful Servant to the Colony of *Virginia*, desired a Testimonial of his Carriage and Demeanor in all things, according to their Knowledge and the Truth, they did thereby certify: That, by the general Consent of his Majesty's Council in *England*, for *Virginia*, the said Captain *John Martin* was, in the Face of the publick and open Court, elected, chosen, and sworn, one of his Majesty's first Council of *Virginia*: That afterwards, in the said honourable and open Court, he was, with the free and full Consent thereof, appointed, chosen, and sworn, Master of the Ordinance in the said Colony: That, besides his first Adventure, which was very laudable and good, he had, ever since, constantly and very worthily endured all the Miseries and Calamities of fore-past Times, with the Loss of his Blood, the Death of his only Son (the sole Hope and Comfort of his Age) together with Sickness, Famine, and many other inexpressibly hard and miserable Sufferings: That he had also providently and very carefully endeavoured all the Good and Benefit to the Plantation, that was in his Power; in all things, upholding and labouring to maintain, with equal Justice and Clemency, all his Majesty's Laws, Prerogatives, and Rights whatsoever: That for these honest and worthy Services, They, the Company and Council for his Majesty, resident in *England*, had formerly granted him sundry Privileges, by Charter under their Great Seal, for settling a private Plantation upon his own Allotment of Land in *Virginia*; wherein he had since proceeded with much Charge and Expence, and for which they neither saw nor knew any Reason, why he should not be permitted to enjoy the same, according to the true Intent and Meaning of his said Grant.

THIS Certificate was signed by the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Warwick*, *Leicester*, and *Montgomery*, by Lord *Sheffield*, Sir *Robert Mansel*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Alderman *Johnson*, Captain *Argall*, and a few others, to the Number of twelve in all. Being presented to the Company, they conceived themselves much wronged and affronted, that a few Members of their Body should, in this Paper, assume to themselves the Name and Authority of the whole Company; stiling themselves, *We, the Company and Council for his Majesty, here resident in England.* And they found themselves under a Necessity of doing something, to avoid the foul Aspersion, contained therein, as if they now went about to disavow their own Act and Deed; as also to prevent the evil Consequences, that might follow, and the ill Constructions, that might be made thereon. Being there-

fore

fore fully appriſed, that ſome of the Lords, and others, had been miſlead and betrayed into it, by the falſe Repreſentations and malicious Practices of the reſt, they drew up an Anſwer, and ordered their Secretary to make divers Copies thereof, which they entreated Sir *John Davers* and Mr. *Tomlins*, to deliver, as well to ſuch Lords as had ſigned the Certificate, as alſo to his Majeſty's Maſters of Requeſt. For, by repreſenting Captain *Martin*, as labouring to maintain the King's Laws, Prerogatives, and Rights (a Stile exactly ſuited to the Taſte and Views of the Court) it was eaſy to perceive, which Way it was chiefly intended and addreſſed. But as to the other Subſcribers, the Secretary was commanded, to deliver each of them a Copy himſelf. 1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

In this Anſwer they ſet forth: That the Company are limited and directed, by his Majeſty's Charters, to their Quarter Courts only, for paſſing of all Matters of greateſt Weight, and particularly for diſpoſing of Lands in *Virginia*: That, contrary to this fundamental Law, notoriouſly known to all the Company, and frequently publiſhed and declared to the Planters, as an Ordinance from his Majeſty to be inviolably obſerved, Captain *Martin*'s two Grants were preſented to an inferior private Court, ready engroſſed, the Company not being before acquainted with the Matter: That by this Court, called extraordinarily, and as it ſeems, for this Buſineſs only, the ſaid Patents were unlawfully and unduly paſſed, notwithſtanding the Diſſent and Oppoſition of divers then preſent; and that they never could afterwards have the Confirmation of a Quarter Court: That the ſaid Patent for Land contained ſundry tranſcendent Liberties and exorbitant Privileges, apparently repugnant to Juſtice and the good Government of the Colony, and which the Company, by his Majeſty's Charters, had no Power to grant: That therein was given an Exemption of all the People within the Limits of his Patent, from the Command and Government of the Governor and Council, and from all other Charges and Services of the Colony whatſoever, except in Caſe of War only; as likewiſe a Grant of an unlimited Fiſhing, of the fifth Part of all rich Mines, with many other general and indefinite Liberties: That, under Colour of theſe extraordinary Privileges, many great Inconveniencies had ariſen, to both the Company and Colony: That Captain *Martin* refuſed to ſubmit himſelf to the Laws and Orders of Government there: That his Plantation was made a Receptacle and Harbour for all diſſolute Perſons, who fly thither from ordinary Juſtice: That all theſe, and many other Miſchiefs, had been often complained of by the Colony, in their particular and general

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

ral Assemblies; as also by the Governors there, and most especially by Captain *Argall*, notwithstanding his Subscription to this Certificate: That, upon his Letter to the Company, an Order was made, in a Great and General Quarter Court, held in *May* 1618, and a Committee appointed, to examine and reform the said Patent: That Sir *Thomas Smith* and Alderman *Johnson* then presided, as Treasurer and Deputy to the Company; so that it seemed strange to them, to find their Hands also to that Certificate, contradicting the Act of that Great Court, wherein themselves were the principal Managers and Directors: That the said Inconveniencies had moreover been lately testified, by several Persons, before the Company, in open Court: But that the Company had nevertheless frequently offered, and was always ready to grant Captain *Martin* (whose Merits they should be glad to hear of, and to cherish) upon the Surrender of his former, a new Patent, with as large and ample Privileges, as any other had, or could enjoy.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Truth, Justice, and Reasonableness of this Answer, Captain *Martin* preferred a Petition to the King, containing many scandalous Suggestions, as well against the whole Body of the Company, as against some special Members in particular. And he obtained an Order from his Majesty, to have his Cause heard and determined, at Sir *Thomas Smith*'s House, before such Referees, as he himself named; among which were those, who chiefly instigated and set him on. In Answer to this, the Company made two Addresses; one to the Referees, in like Manner as they had done in the Case of the Certificate; and the other to the King, as well to clear the Company and such particular Persons, as stood accused and defamed in *Martin*'s Petition, as also to inform his Majesty, that some of those, unto whom the Reference was procured, were violently suspected, to be Captain *Martin*'s chief Abettors and Supporters in this Affair. They therefore desired, that the Matter might be referred, together with those Lords in *Martin*'s Reference, to certain other Lords of the Privy Council, whom they named. But upon Lord *Cavendish*'s presenting this, his Majesty said, that he was much surprised at this new Custom, lately sprung up, that Petitioners should chuse their own Referees. To which his Lordship answered; that, in that Point, Captain *Martin* had been their Example, who in his Petition, which his Lordship then produced and shewed his Majesty, had named his own Referees, which his Majesty had approved and appointed accordingly,

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

BUT not content to give the Company this Trouble and Disturbance, Captain *Martin*, together with one Captain *Robert Haſwell*, preſented another Petition to his Majeſty, ſetting forth: That in the Time of Sir *Thomas Dale*'s Government, there was a large Quantity of Woodland, Marſh, and other Ground, being in Circumference by Eſtimation about fourſcore Miles, for which Sir *Thomas Dale* compounded with *Powhatan*, the *Indian* King, and bounded the ſame by Trees, and other Marks of perpetual Knowledge and Remembrance, with a ſolemn Proceſſion of many of his Majeſty's Subjects, then and there living, commanding Notice to be taken thereof, to be, and always ſo called and entitled, *The King's Foreſt*: That within the ſaid Foreſt, there was of Deer and wild Hogs a very great Number; which being preſerved, with Care and Judgment, from the Spoil and Havock, which continually was, and would be made, both of them and their Brood, the Colony might therein have a conſtant Stock and Support, and Shipping might, at all times, be plentifully victualled and ſupplied: And that there were beſides, within thoſe Limits, many other profitable Commodities, already known. They therefore humbly beſought his moſt ſacred Majeſty, to take the ſaid Foreſt into his own Royal Hands, and to appoint ſome honourable Perſon, to be Commander thereof, authoriſing him, to give Order for converting the Plantations thereon to his Majeſty's beſt Uſe and Behoof, and for appointing a Juſtice of Oyer, and Rangers, with ſuch other Officers, as ſhould be thought moſt proper and convenient for the ſaid Foreſt and Plantation.

TO ſuch a Height of Falſhood, Fraud, and Impoſture, did the Paſſions of theſe unhappy Men carry them, as thus to give the King at once, as far as it was in their Power, all the Lands and Poſſeſſions of a very great and principal Part of the Colony; who had, by their Labours and Sufferings, ſtruck out new Branches of Trade and Profit to the King and Nation, and well deſerved all Manner of Indulgence, and the utmoſt Security and Stability in their Properties. But King *James* was not of a Temper, to forego any Views of Profit and Advantage. He therefore referred the Examination of the Matter to Sir *Chriſtopher Perkins*, one of the Maſters of Requeſts; who ſummoning the Company, received for Anſwer:

THAT they held not their Lands from King *Powhatan*, nor acknowledged any King of *Virginia*, but King *James*: That it was true, for a perpetual Memorial and permanent Honour to his Majeſty and his Royal Iſſue, they had named their chief Towns, and other moſt remarkable Places, after the

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

the King and his Children: That they however supposed, this did no way alter the Property of Inheritance in those Places, which his Majesty, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of *England*, had granted to the said Company, for and throughout all *Virginia*: That as to the King's Forest, it was a Name happily known to Captain *Martin* and his Associates, but never before heard of by the Company: That within the Circuit, which they had been pleased to appropriate for the Forest, were placed *James-City*, their chief Town, and Place of Residence for the Governor and Council, and divers other principal Seats and Plantations: That as for the Deer, it was true, the whole Country did generally abound in them; but the Swine were no other, but the Breed of such as had been transported thither by the Company: That Captain *Martin* was a Person, who had ruined his own Estate, (if ever he had any) as also the Estates of others, who had put him in Trust: That he made his Territory in *Virginia* a Receptacle of Vagabonds and Bankrupts; and was famous for nothing, but all Kinds of base Conditions and Actions, as had been published in Print, above ten Years before: That he had been therefore displaced from the Council, by Lord *Delawarr*, as a most unworthy Person, who had presumed, of his own Authority, no ways derived from his Majesty, to pass unjust Sentence of Death upon divers of his Majesty's Subjects, and to see the same put into cruel Execution: That it was therefore a Matter of great Surprise to them, to find such a Man dare to offer himself to his Majesty, as an Agent, either for Matter of good Husbandry, or good Government: That as to Captain *Haswell*, he was neither Adventurer in the Company, nor Planter in the Colony, but a mere Stranger to both; nor otherwise known to them, than as Interpreter to a *Polonian* Lord, of his own creating: That however, if the King was pleased, to have a Royal Domain laid off for him in *Virginia*, nothing could be more joyful and agreeable to the said Council and Company, nor wherein they would more willingly employ their Endeavours.

AT the same time, Mr. *Pierce*, who had been Cape-Merchant in *Virginia*, understanding, that Captain *Martin* denied, that he ever protected any within his Territories, averred, that he had delivered several Warrants, to be served upon Persons, that lived loosely within Captain *Martin*'s Plantation, and that the Provost Marshal made Return, that the said Captain *Martin* resisted the Officer, and drew Arms upon him, and would not suffer him to execute the said Warrants. Others also affirmed, that it

was

was generally reported in *Virginia*, that Captain *Martin*'s Plantation was a Place of Refuge for all Debtors; and that, if he had been of Power, there would have been no living in *Virginia*. To which Mr. *Jefferson* added; that, to his Knowledge, Captain *Martin*, being summoned, had refused to obey the General Assemblies. All which, they all declared themselves to be ready and willing, whenever required, to confirm and justify upon Oath. Wherefore, in a Case of this clear Evidence and Truth, Captain *Martin* was not able to carry his Point against the Company. He was afterwards induced to deliver up his illegal Patent in open Court, to be cancelled; and Orders were given for drawing a new one, with as large and ample Privileges, as the Earl of *Southampton*, or any other Adventurer had. But when this was drawn, Captain *Martin* complained, that he was therein abridged of a great Quantity of Land, granted in his former Patent. For, in that, ten Shares were given him, in Reward of his Services; and he pretended, that each of those Shares ought to be five hundred Acres of Land; and he therefore claimed five thousand Acres. For this, he desired that Spot of Land, as he called it, at *Martin*'s *Brandon*, where he had formerly seated, containing about six thousand Acres, with all Marshes and sunken Grounds thrown in, as an Overplus. But the Court, having never heard of any Shares of five hundred Acres, and finding it expressly directed by their Charters, that no Share should exceed an hundred Acres, absolutely refused to grant his Demand. However, to give him Satisfaction, if possible, they gave him to a certain Day, to produce any Instance or Evidence, that there had ever been Shares of five hundred Acres; and promised, to shew him all lawful Favour. But he afterwards perversely demanded the Re-delivery of his old Patent; and the Court, being quite wearied out with his Obstinacy and Impertinence, gave him for their last and resolute Answer; That, if he would accept such a Patent, as they could lawfully grant, he might have it; but as for his old Patent, they could not deliver it to him again, being void, not so much by his Resignation, as by the Extravagance and Illegality of the Grant itself. Whereupon he went away, and never spared, upon all Occasions, to load many very worthy and deserving Members of the Company, with all possible Scandal and Reproach. But at last he accepted the new Patent, and pretended to be fully reconciled to the Company; and came to *Virginia*, with a Recommendation from the Privy Council, and by their Means and Interposition, even from the Company themselves; which Favour he accordingly

1622 Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

accordingly required, by propagating and spreading through the Country all the Falſhoods and Calumnies againſt them, that he could invent or utter.

BUT beſides Captain *Martin*, ſome others were raiſed up and ſuborned, to give in Complaints to the King, againſt the Company. One *Adam Dixon*, in his Petition, pretended to have been hired, for the Service of the Company and Colony, as Maſter-Caulker of their Ships and Veſſels in *Virginia*, at thirty ſix Shillings a Month, and that having ſerved them many Years, he only had received three Pounds thirteen Shillings; ſo that there was now due to him an hundred and fifty Pounds, or there-abouts: That Captain *Argall* alſo, in the time of his Government, had given him and one *John Berry* a Piece of uncleared Ground, on which they had expended an hundred Pounds in a Houſe; but that, contrary to all Juſtice and Equity, they had been turned out of their ſaid Houſe and Ground, the former Year, by Sir *George Yeardley*, to their great Diſcomfort and utter Undoing. To this the Company anſwered: That the Matters of the ſaid Petition were to them utterly unknown, that there was not, in their Books, the leaſt mention of any ſuch Officer or Contract; neither had they any Inducements, to believe it to be true: That if any ſuch thing had paſſed, it muſt have been in Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Time, to whom they referred him, for Anſwer and Satisfaction: That as to the Outrage and Wrong, pretended to have been done by Sir *George Yeardley*, the Petitioner had never yet complained thereof to them; but they would take a Courſe for ſpeedy Juſtice therein, by commending the Matter to the Care and Examination of the Governor and Council in *Virginia*. And the Affair was accordingly examined and tried in our General Court, the 21ſt of *January* 1623-4. It then appeared, by the Oath of *Thomas Gates* and the ſaid *Adam Dixon*, that they, together with *John Berry* and *Thomas Dingley*, were hired by Sir *Thomas Smith*, upon Wages, for a certain Term; that their Wages were not only never paid, but they themſelves were detained, many Years longer, in very hard Servitude; and that at laſt, to free themſelves, they were obliged to give Captain *Argall* an Acquittance, under their Hands, for their Wages; without which, he threatened, they ſhould never be ſet free. And they further ſwore, that Captain *Argall* kept them a Year after, in his own proper Service, without any Allowance of either Wages or Cloaths. But I cannot find, in our Records, that they proſecuted or made any Complaint here, againſt Sir *George Yeardley*, about their Houſe and Land.

One

ONE *William Kemp* also presented a Complaint to his Majesty, of the Grievances of certain Inhabitants of *Kicquotan* in *Virginia*; that *William Julian*, *John Bush*, and some others, ancient Planters and deserving Inhabitants of the best mechanical Trades, had been turned out of their lawful Possessions, by Sir *George Yeardley*, with many Circumstances of Oppression and Cruelty. To which the Company answered: That the Parties, pretended to be wronged, had never made any Complaint to them: That *Kemp* had been in *England* above a Year, and had never laid the Matter before the Council and Company, where Justice might have been done: That he did not even pretend to have Authority from the Parties grieved, to exhibit this Complaint to his Majesty: That they therefore saw no Cause, to believe his Allegations to be true; but suspected him, rather to be set on by the Malice of others, than moved by his own Zeal for Right and Justice: That however, according to their Custom in Causes of the like Nature, they would, by the first Opportunity, transmit this Complaint to the Governor and Council in *Virginia*; that, if there appeared any Truth in any Part thereof, they might proceed, as well to the due Redress of the said Grievances, as to the condign Punishment of the Authors and Delinquents. And this Complaint appears, from our Records, to have had this Foundation in Truth and Matter of Fact; that some Persons had set down, at *Kicquotan*, upon the publick Land of the Company, and were obliged, by the Governor and Council, to go off. But they however had, either by this time or afterwards, (I cannot exactly say which) Satisfaction made them for their Clearing and Improvements. 1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

CAPTAIN *Matthew Somers*, who had returned to *England* with his Uncle's Body, in the Year 1610, had, long before this, been a Prisoner in the King's Bench. From thence he often pelted and tiezed the Company, with an extravagant Demand for his Uncle's Adventure; and altho' something considerable in Adventure appeared, by their Books, to be due to Sir *George Somers*, yet they refused to pass it over to him, because he had an elder Brother in the Country, who was Heir at Law to Sir *George*, and he could not make sufficient Proof, that either his Uncle had bequeathed it by Will, or that his Brother had made over all his Right and Interest therein to him. In this time therefore of presenting Petitions to the King, Captain *Somers* also preferred his; informing his Majesty: That Sir *George Somers* was forced, by Stress of Weather, to save himself and Company, on the Islands of *Bermudas*, where he lost his

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

Ship, and soon after, his Life: That he, the Petitioner, being his immediate Heir, and then present, built a small Bark, to convey his Company to *England*; and left three Men, to continue the Possession of those Islands, in his Majesty's Name: That the *Virginia* Company, hearing of this Discovery, challenged those Islands, as their Right, altho' they were above an hundred Leagues without the Limits of their Grant; and they sent a Governor, with Men, to take the Possession from his Majesty: That finding, the Petitioner's Men had, by their Industry, found a Cake of Ambergrease of an hundred and sixty Pounds Weight, the said Governor took it violently from them, for the Use of the Company, who sold it for twelve thousand Pounds, and likewise threatened Violence to the poor Men, to make them confess more: That the said Company, shortly after, sold the said Islands to a particular Company, for two thousand Pounds; and the poor Petitioner could never yet obtain any thing, either for his Adventure or otherwise, altho' he had long and often sollicited it, to his great Charge and utter Undoing: That these, and no other Comforts, could they, the ancient Adventurers, receive from the Company; and therefore he humbly besought his Majesty, to take into Consideration his own Royal Rights therein, and to give Order for the Relief of him, the poor Petitioner.

To this false and exaggerated Account of that Affair, the *Somer-Islands* Company gave in, for Answer, much the same in Substance and Purport, as I have before related concerning it. And as for Captain *Somers*, they deny him to have any just Pretence, to stile himself, either an ancient Adventurer, or Planter. For he made a very short Abode there; and contrary to his Duty and Trust, returned suddenly to *England*, where he had ever since continued, without performing the least Service to either Plantation. They confess, that a Block of Ambergrease of very great Value was found, of which they got about a third Part; but were not able to deliver in an exact Account of its Worth, because Sir *Thomas Smith*, at that time Governor and Treasurer of their Company, had hitherto refused to give in any Account of their Treasury. And they further say, that they conceived the Right to that Ambergrease to be in the *Virginia* Company, at whose Charge, and in whose Service, those three Men had been set out and employed; but that they had nevertheless, since compounded with the Finders, so that none of them had any just Cause of Complaint, and least of all Captain *Somers*, who could have no Title or Pretence of Interest therein.

As

As Captain *Argall* had been long and actively employed in *Virginia*, and was consequently well acquainted with most Persons and Passages there, he was strongly suspected to be at the Bottom of these Complaints and Petitions against the Company. They therefore, on their Part, resolved to pursue their Prosecution against him with greater Vigor; and they appointed a select Committee, to warn him peremptorily to exhibit his Accounts, and to make a full and substantial Answer to such things, as the Company should charge him withal. But he, being a Man of good Sense and Capacity, and of great Industry and Resolution, still foiled and perplexed their Proceedings, and gave them much Trouble and Annoyance, without their being able to bring him to any Account or Punishment, for all his unrighteous Gains and Extortions in *Virginia*. 1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

CAPTAIN *Samuel Each* was sent, this Summer, in a large Ship of three or four hundred Tons, to build a Block-house or Fort, on those Banks which lie out in *James* River, near *Blunt Point*. This was designed, to command the Passage up the River; and it was judged, by divers of the Inhabitants, to be that, which ought first to be attempted, and would be most easily effected. Captain *Each* also, who was esteemed a very honest and skilful Man, having viewed the Place, when in *Virginia*, thought the thing very feasible. But this Undertaking, like many others, ended with great Charge to the Company, and without any real Effect or Advantage. However, in this Ship went over the Lady *Wyat*, and Mr. *Barret*, a Master-Shipwright, (whom Captain *Smith* calls Captain *Barwick*) with twenty five Men, to build Ships and Boats, together with many House-carpenters for the *East-India* School, and other Uses. All these Persons, for publick Services, were sent in the common Method, used ever since the Company's Fund was exhausted, by the voluntary Subscription of the Adventurers to a Roll. And I likewise find, that one Mr. *Howe*, who stiles himself a Chronicler, made a Demand upon the Company, about this time, for twelve Pounds of Tobacco; which, he said, had been promised him annually, in Consideration of his Pains and Willingness to serve the Company, and to relate, in his Book, the several Passages concerning *Virginia*. They granted him his Pension for that Year, which he most thankfully accepted. But he either never performed the Service, or is at least a Writer of that Obscurity and Insignificancy, that I neither know, nor can find any thing of him.

BEFORE the Election of Officers came on this Year, the Company, in a previous Court, expressed their great

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

Satisfaction in the Earl of *Southampton*'s Administration; and they made it their humble Desire and Entreaty to his Lordship, which was entered upon their Records, that he would vouchsafe, to hold the Place of Treasurer, for one Year more. But the Earl of *Southampton* was very obnoxious to the Court, on Account of his Principles of Liberty, and his bold and resolute Opposition to an excessive Prerogative. The King therefore endeavoured once more, to put him out of the Government of the Company. For, at the time of Election, Alderman *Hamersley* and Mr. *Bell* delivered a Message, in his Majesty's Name, signifying: That altho' it was not his Design or Desire, to infringe their Freedom of Election, yet it would be highly pleasing to his Majesty, if they would make Choice, for Treasurer and Deputy, of any of those Gentlemen, whose Names were written in a Paper, then presented to the Court. In this, Sir *John Wolstenholme*, Sir *William Russel*, Mr. *Clitheroe*, Mr. *Maurice Abbot*, and Mr. *Handford*, were proposed to their Choice for Treasurer; and for Deputy, Mr. *Leat*, Mr. *Robert Offley*, Mr. *Stiles*, Mr. *Andy*, and Mr. *Bateman*. The Company expressed great Joy and Satisfaction, for this Testimony of his Majesty's Notice and good Wishes to the Colony, and of his gracious Intention, not to infringe their Privilege of free Election. But because, by their Rules and Orders, three only at a time could stand for either of those Places, they first put it to the Vote, which two, of the five recommended by the King for Treasurer, should be put in Election, with one, whom the Company should name. Mr. *Clitheroe* and Mr. *Handford* were chosen to stand in Election, and the Company named the Earl of *Southampton*; who was, upon the Ballot, chosen by a vast Majority, he having an hundred and seventeen Balls, Mr. *Clitheroe* thirteen, and Mr. *Handford* seven. In like Manner, they chose Mr. *Leat* and Mr. *Bateman*, to stand for the Place of Deputy Treasurer, to whom the Company added Mr. *Nicholas Farrar*, who was also elected, by having an hundred and three Balls, Mr. *Bateman* ten, and Mr. *Leat* eight.

THE Earl of *Southampton* was then absent; and indeed seems, purposely to have abstained from their Courts at such times, to shew, that these things were carried, not by any Art or Ambition of his own, but merely by the free Choice, and unbiassed Affection of the Company. But Mr. *Nicholas Farrar*, being present, took his Place, as Deputy Treasurer, and returned Thanks to the Company, for this honourable Testimony of their Love and Esteem, wherein he should, all his Life, exceedingly glory and rejoice. And he farther declared his Sense of the Weight and Difficulty of the Office,

Office, and of his own Inability. But not to trouble them with any felf-denying Intreaties, he promifed, to the Utmoft of his Power, to perform the Charge they had laid upon him; and befought the Honourable the Lords, and the other worthy Gentlemen and Officers, with their Councils to direct, and the whole Court, with their Prefence to aflift him, in the Execution of his Office. And, in particular, he defired them, to requeft his Brother, Mr. *John Farrar* (in Confidence of whofe Affiftance and Direction, he well knew, they had chofen him) to continue the fame Care and Pains, he had formerly done. Whereupon Mr. *John Farrar* promifed, not to flack any thing of his former Zeal and Diligence, in the Buflnefs; and the Company, in thankful Acknowledgement and Approbation of his great and faithful Services, in the Place of Deputy-Treafurer, for the three laft Years, beftowed upon him twenty Shares of Land, old Adventure. And they further ordered, that together with the Gift, it fhould be entered on their Records, that the Court conceived his Services and Merits to be fo great, that had not their Liberality been bounded, within the Compafs of twenty great Shares, they would, for him, have exceeded it with a much larger Proportion. And the fame Quantity had alfo been beftowed upon Sir *Edwin Sandys*, in his Abfence, the former Year, with a like honourable Teftimony and Acknowledgment of his Services and Deferts.

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THE Company alfo requefted the Lords *Cavendifh*, *Paget*, and *Houghton*, to prefent their moft humble Thanks to his Majefty, for his Remembrance and good Wifhes to their Affairs; and to inform him, with what Reverence and Refpect, his Meffage was received; but that the Election had fallen upon the Earl of *Southampton*, with an almoft unanimous Confent, the Company having found, that the Plantation had profpered, each of the three laft Years, more than in ten before; and that more had been done with ten thoufand Pounds, than formerly with fourfcore thoufand. And they further conceived, that as their Staple Commodities were then in eftablifhing and perfecting, and as the Government of the Country was to be fettled and confirmed, equal Sufficiency, in their Governors and Directors, would not fo much advance the Plantation, as the Variablenefs of Inftructions and Methods, in the Change of Officers, proceeding from different Conceptions and Ways of thinking, would prejudice and retard the Buflnefs. But his Majefty was not well pleafed to find, that out of fo large a Number, as were recommended by him, not one had been chofen; and he faid, he conceived Merchants to be fitteft, for the Management of fuch Undertakings, becaufe

1622. of their Experience and Skill in Staple Commodities. In Confirmation of which, he inſtanced Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Government, in whoſe time many Staple Commodities had been ſet up, which were now laid down, and only Tobacco raiſed or attempted. To which Lord *Cavendiſh* replied, that in this, as well as many other Particulars, relating to the Company and their Proceedings, his Majeſty had been very groſly miſinformed; that the following Tobacco only, and neglecting all other Staple Commodities, had been the Fruits of Sir *Thomas Smith*'s and Alderman *Johnſon*'s Government; but that ſince, they had laboured, with all Induſtry, Care, and Diligence, to erect Iron-Works, plant Vineyards, make Silk, and raiſe other ſuch valuable Commodities, of ſome whereof, they hoped, ſhortly to give his Majeſty a Proof; and he ſaid, that ſince Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Time, the Colony had grown to almoſt as many thouſands of People, as he left hundreds, beſides a very great Increaſe of their Cattle. And his Lordſhip further aſſured his Majeſty, that ſome of the Perſons recommended, being in Court, did then, and moſt of them have otherwiſe ſince, publickly acknowledged and declared, that they would never have accepted thoſe Places; profeſſing themſelves, thro' Want of Experience, and a Multitude of other Buſineſs, ſo very unfit and unequal to the Charge, that they ſhould certainly have brought back the Buſineſs more, in one Year, than it had gone forward and proſpered, in the laſt three.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

SOON after this, the News of the Maſſacre in *Virginia* arrived. This Event, ſo unexpected, and ſo contrary to all their Hopes and Proſpects, was received, by the Company, with inexpreſſible Grief; which was not a little aggravated, that ſo many had fallen, by the Hands of Men ſo contemptible, and after ſuch plain Warnings, as *Opechancanough*'s Attempt to poiſon the whole Colony, and eſpecially the Death of *Nemattanow* had given. And they were therefore very loud in their Complaints againſt the Conduct of the Governor and Colony; never conſidering, how eaſy and natural it would be, to retort upon them (as the Governor and Council actually did) their own conſtant and preſſing Inſtructions, to win the *Indians* over by Courteſy and Kindneſs, to give them familiar Entertainment in their Houſes, and if it were poſſible, to draw them to live together and cohabit with the *Engliſh*. However, all good and ſenſible Men thought not the worſe of the Enterpriſe, for theſe Diſaſters; but many public-ſpirited Adventurers undertook ſeveral new Plantations, and divers Ships were diſpatched away, with ſuch Supplies and Aſſiſtance, as were thought ſufficient. The King alſo was ſo far ſenſible of the

Loſs

Loſs of ſo many of his Subjects, and of the miſerable State of the Colony, that he made them a Gift of Arms out of the Tower; ſuch indeed, as were unſerviceable in *Europe* againſt equal Enemies, yet might, with a little Trimming and Repair, be made very uſeful againſt the *Indians*. And for immediate Diſpatch, his Majeſty lent twenty Barrels of Powder, upon the Security of the Company's Seal, afterwards to repay it. He likewiſe promiſed, to levy four hundren young Men, out of the ſeveral Shires, to be ſent to *Virginia*, in Supply of thoſe, that had periſhed in the Maſſacre; but he never could be brought, tho' often ſollicited by the Company, to make that Promiſe good. The Lord *St. John* of *Baſing*, alſo gave ſixty Coats of Mail, for the Defence of the Colony; and the City of *London*, with many private Perſons, were much concerned at, and very forward to contribute towards the Repair of this Loſs. 1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

CAPTAIN *Smith*, with Mr. *Stockham* and Mr. *Whitaker*, two Clergymen of Note in the Colony, had ever been of Opinion, that the Ways of Gentleneſs and Kindneſs would never be ſufficient to bring the *Indians* over; and had therefore recommended, that *Mars* and *Minerva* ſhould go Hand in Hand, as well in their Converſion, as in all other Tranſactions and Intercourſe with them. But they were too ſanguinary in their Notions of the Matter. For Mr. *Stockam* plainly declares, that, until the Throats of their Prieſts and Elders were cut, there could be no Hopes of their Converſion; and Captain *Smith* frequently mentions, and inſinuates to Imitation, the deteſtable Example of the *Spaniards*, in their Conqueſt of the *Weſt-Indies*. They were indeed ſomething excuſable, if, their Patience being worn out by a long Experience of the Perfidiouſneſs, Baſeneſs, and almoſt invincible Brutality of that People, they at laſt gave too much Way to the Dictates of Anger and Violence. Captain *Smith*, in particular, thought, that there had long ſince been given juſt Occaſion, to proſecute them with War, and entirely to conquer and ſubdue them; and he now looked upon the Maſſacre, as rather an Advantage than Detriment, as it would open the Eyes of the *Engliſh*, and ſet them upon their Guard, and would give them juſt Grounds for a War, even to their utter Extirpation, and thereby contribute to the future Security and ſpeedy Advancement of the Colony. And this indeed ſeems to have been the general Opinion of the Times. For the Company themſelves, in a Letter this Year to the Governor and Council, declare, that they ſaw ſuch a Diſpoſition in Mens Minds, as made them think, that this Addition of Price had endeared the Purchaſe, and that the Blood of theſe People would be the Seed of the

Planta-

1622. Plantation. And, for their own Parts, they thought it a Sin againſt their dead Brethren, who had loſt their Lives in it, to abandon or give over the Enterpriſe, till they had fully ſettled and got Poſſeſſion of the Country.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

CAPTAIN *Smith* likewiſe, upon this Occaſion, offered his Service to the Company. He propoſed, that they ſhould tranſport him, with an hundred Soldiers and thirty Sailors, and all proper Proviſions and Ammunition; and ſhould give him a Bark of an hundred Tons, with Means and Materials, to build ſix or ſeven Shallops, to tranſport his Men from Place to Place, as Occaſion required; and then he undertook, to form a flying Camp, and to range about and torment the *Indians*, till he either obliged them to quit the Country, or brought them into ſuch Fear and Subjection, that every Man ſhould follow his Buſineſs in Peace and Security. And as to the Support and Subſiſtence of this Party, he thought, if his Majeſty were truly informed of the Neceſſity and Benefit of the thing, he would give the Cuſtoms of *Virginia* for a time. For, without ſome ſuch Method, it was much to be doubted, whether there would come, in a few Years, either Cuſtom, or any thing elſe, from thence to *England*. And he doubted not, but that the Planters would, according to their ſeveral Abilities, contribute towards ſo uſeful and neceſſary a Deſign. But he inſiſted, that the Governors ſhould not be permitted, by Virtue of their Authority, to take his Men away, or any thing elſe, to employ them, as they thought proper. And he farther promiſed, to make the beſt Uſe of his Experience, as well within the Limits of *Virginia*, as *New-England*, to bring them both into one Map, with all the Countries, that lay between them. As to the Reward of his own Pains and Danger, he aſked not any thing, but what he could raiſe, from the proper Labour of the Savages themſelves.

THIS Propoſal was well approved by moſt, that heard it; but ſuch were their Diviſions and Confuſion at that time, that he could obtain no other Anſwer, but that the Expence would be too great, and their Stock was exhauſted; and they thought, the Planters ſhould do ſomething of that Nature themſelves, if they could find ſufficient Means to effect it. However, he was given to underſtand, as he tells us, that if he would undertake the thing upon his own private Account, he might have the Company's Leave; provided, they might have half the Pillage. But he rejected this Intimation with Scorn; thinking, that all the Pillage of thoſe poor and naked Barbarians, except a little Corn, to be had at ſome times of the Year, would not, in twenty Years, amount to twenty Pounds. But I ſuſpect, that all this

this only paſſed in Converſation, or was at moſt privately talked at their Courts, without ever being brought regularly before the Company. For I have the Company's Records of that time, now in my Poſſeſſion, in which there is not the leaſt Mention of any ſuch Propoſition, altho' things of a trivial and much more minute Nature are moſt exactly entered. Neither does it ſeem conſiſtent with the Character of the Company and its Leaders, who gave a fair Courſe and Debate to all Propoſitions offered, and were rather profuſe in their Expences for the good of the Colony, than lying upon the Catch for little Advantages and mean Gains. However, the Captain's open Nature, and Simplicity of Honeſty, might be blinded by crafty and deſigning Men, and eaſily made believe, that that came from the Company, which had really never come under their Cognizance, or been laid before them. 1622. Sr *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

In the mean time, the Colony in *Virginia*, being much frightened at this lamentable and unexpected Diſaſter, reſolved to abandon all the petty Plantations, and to draw the People together, to make good five or ſix of the beſt and moſt defenſible Places. Nay, ſo great was the Terror and Alarm, that many Perſons were urgent, to abandon *James* River, and to retire to the *Eaſtern Shore*, where they might eaſily fortify and defend themſelves againſt the *Indians*. And for quieting thoſe, who were many, the Governor was obliged to hold ſome Councils, under Colour of conſidering their Propoſal, but yet with a full Reſolution, never to take ſo unadviſed and deſtructive a Step. However, many Plantations were quitted by Authority; and all the People were drawn together to *Shirley Hundred*, *Flower-de-Hundred*, *James-Town*, with *Paſpahey* and the Plantations right oppoſite, *Kicquotan*, and *Southampton Hundred*; to which were added, by the Obſtinacy and Reſolution of their Owners, Mr. *Samuel Jordan*'s Plantation, now called *Jordan*'s *Point*, and *Newport*'s-*News*. For Want of Boats and other Conveniencies, it was impoſſible, on ſuch a ſudden, to ſecure and bring off all their Cattle and other Goods, which were, for the moſt part, after their Departure, burnt, ruined, and deſtroyed by the *Indians*. But Mr. *Gookin*, at *Newport*'s-*News*, refuſed to obey the Order of Government, and draw off his People; and having got together thirty five of all Sorts, he ſecured his Plantation, and defended himſelf and Company againſt all their Aſſaults and Incurſions. The like was alſo done by Mr. *Samuel Jordan*; and by Mrs. *Proctor*, a proper, civil, and modeſt Gentlewoman, who, with an heroic Spirit, defended her Eſtate for a Month, till ſhe, with all with her, were obliged, by the

Engliſh

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

Engliſh Officers, to go with them, and to leave their Subſtance to the Havock and Spoil of the Enemy. Mr. *Edward Hill* alſo, at *Eliſabeth-City*, altho' much Miſchief was done to his Cattle, yet did himſelf alone defend his Houſe, whilſt all his Men were ſick and unable to give him any Aſſiſtance.

CAPTAIN *Thomas Newce*, Deputy and Superintendant of the Company's Lands, foreſeeing the Difficulties and Famine, that muſt neceſſarily enſue, cauſed as much Corn as poſſible, to be planted at *Eliſabeth-City*, where he commanded; whilſt others deſtroyed even that, which had been before planted, fearing, it might be of Service to the *Indians*, and truſted wholly to Relief by Trade or from *England*, which had ever been one of the principal Cauſes of their Miſeries. For, Supplies from *England* were very precarious, and liable to many Accidents and Diſappointments, and had been, formerly at leaſt, very ſtingily afforded: And the Trade for Corn, with the Natives, was uſually carried on by Men of Subſtance, to their own Gain and Advantage, and as it was complained, eſpecially by the Company's Enemies, to the great Oppreſſion of the poor and ſuffering Inhabitants. But Captain *Newce* called all his next adjoining Neighbours to his Houſe, and omitted nothing, to relieve their Wants and Neceſſities. He likewiſe, with all Speed, entrenched himſelf; mounted three Pieces of Ordinance; ſunk a Well of freſh Water; and ſoon put himſelf into a Poſture of Defence, above the Fear of any Danger or Aſſault from the Enemy. In all theſe Works, he acted the Part of a Sawyer, a Carpenter, or a Labourer; till he brought upon himſelf many Sickneſſes, and at laſt a Dropſy, to the very great Grief of his Family, and of all under his Government. The latter End of *June*, Sir *George Yeardley*, in his Way to *Accomack*, ſtaid three or four Days with Captain *Newce*, being accompanied by the Council, and many other gay Gentlemen. The Captain, being oppreſſed with ſo large a Company, complained, to one of the chief among them, of the Want of Proviſions. Whereupon he gave the Word to the reſt, and they entered the Fields of Corn near the Fort, which were the beſt guarded and preſerved from the Ravage of the Enemy, and altho' the Ears were ſcarce half grown, they devoured and made a miſerable Waſte among it. But it muſt be obſerved, that this Particular relies wholly on the Authority of Captain *Smith*, who was himſelf abſent, and whoſe Relations of theſe times were chiefly taken from Perſons of the opponent Faction. They are therefore always to be ſomewhat ſuſpected; and eſpecially in this Story, as it claſhes

clashes so much with Sir *George Yeardley*'s general Character, and the universal Love and Esteem, which he obtained from the Colony. However Captain *Newce* was certainly a Man of great Goodness and Merit. As long as he had any thing, his Company shared it equally with him; and when all was spent, being obliged to live on Crabs and Oysters, they fell into a very weak and feeble Condition. Yet Captain *Newce* distributed among them, as he saw Occasion, a little Milk and Rice, which he still had left; and behaved himself, in all things, with such a fatherly Tenderness and Care, that he obtained the Reputation, of being the Commander, throughout the whole Country, that took the most continual Pains for the Publick, and did the least Good for himself, of all others. On the 9th of *September*, his Men were attacked at their Labours, by the *Indians*, which was the first Assault, they had made since the Massacre, and four were slain. The Captain, altho' extremely sick, sallied forth to engage them; but they, hiding themselves in the Corn and other lurking Places, escaped his Vengeance. Soon after, this worthy Gentleman died; and the Company, in Consideration of his, as well as her own Merit, granted his Widow a Moiety of the Labours of the Tenants, due to his Place, till another Person should be appointed to succeed him. And afterwards, in a Letter to the Governor and Council, they ordered her the whole Profits of their Labour for the following Year, with no small Commendation of her Virtue and Desert.

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

CAPTAIN *Ralegh Chroshaw* was, all this while, at *Patowmack*, with one Man. He had not been long there, before *Opechancanough* sent two Baskets of Beads to *Japazaus*, the King, to kill them; assuring him of the Slaughter he had made, and that before the End of two Moons, there should not be an *Englishman* left in all their Countries. *Japazaus* disclosed this to Captain *Chroshaw*, who expressed great Scorn and Contempt for *Opechancanough*, whose Treachery and Cowardise he had seen sufficiently tried by Captain *Smith*, when he took him Prisoner, at the Head of seven hundred Men. After two Days Deliberation, *Japazaus* made Answer, that the *English* were his Friends, and *Opitchapan*, the *Indian* Emperor, his Brother; and that therefore, there should be no Blood shed between them, by his Means. He also returned the Present of Beads, advising the *Pamunkys* to come no more into his Country, lest the *English*, though against his Will, should do them a Mischief. But the *English* Colony concluded *Chroshaw* undoubtedly dead, till Captain *Hamor* came to *Patowmack*,

1622. *towmack*, in *June*, to trade for Corn; where he found him safe, and was kindly entertained by both him and the King. By the King's Direction and Assistance, he assaulted and took a Town, where was some Corn; and at his Departure, he left Captain *Chroshaw* four Men more. *Chroshaw* receiving continual Alarms, retired with these to a Place of Advantage, where, with the Assistance of the *Patowmacks*, he soon fortified himself, sufficiently against all such wild Assailants. Soon after, he was visited by Captain *Newce*; from whom understanding the miserable State of the Colony, he offered, if they would send him a bold Shallop, with Provision to trade, and proper Arms and Men, to provide them Corn sufficient, after the getting in their Corn; but as yet, it being but the latter End of *June*, he told him, there was little or none in all the Country.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

Newce communicating this to the Governor and others, Captain *Isaac Maddison* was sent, with thirty odd Men, in a Ship and small Bark. His Commission from the Governor, expresly charges and requires him, to assist and defend their Friends and Confederates, the *Patowmacks*, against the common Enemy; to protect them and their Corn, to his utmost Power; and in his Carriage, as well towards them as the Enemy, to discharge, faithfully and circumspectly, the great Trust, reposed in him, as he would answer the same, at his Peril. But just at that time, Captain *Chroshaw* had received a Letter from Mrs. *Boyce*, a Woman of Figure, who was Prisoner, with nineteen more, at *Pamunkey*. Having some Prospect of recovering their Liberty, he went to *James-Town*, with two Chiefs of the *Patowmacks*, to sollicit the Governor, and to enter into Measures for their Release. But before this, *Opechancanough* had returned an insolent Answer to the Governor's Message, concerning restoring the *English* Captives, and had treated the King's Picture with great Dishonour and Contumely. The *English* also dissembled their Intents, and pretending Peace and Friendship, invited the *Indians* back, to plant their Corn at their usual Habitations; which being now grown up, so as to make the Loss irreparable by a new Crop, the Governor was preparing, with five hundred Men, to make a sharp and vigorous War upon them, especially upon *Opechancanough* and his bloody Adherents; and hoped, by destroying their Corn, and other Means, to drive them quite out of the Country. As to the lawful Emperor, *Opitchapan*, who by this time indeed was only an Emperor in Name, he seems very greatly to have disapproved of the Massacre. For I find him, early the next Year, sending *Chanco*, *Pace*'s *Christian* Convert, who discovered the *Indian*

dian Conſpiracy, to aſſure Sir *Francis Wyat*, that if he would ſend ten or twelve Men, he would give up the reſt of the *Engliſh* Priſoners, that were in his Poſſeſſion; and would alſo deliver his Brother *Opechancanough*, the Author of the Maſſacre, into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, either alive or dead. Captain *Tucker* was accordingly ſent upon this Service, but without the deſired Succeſs. However *Opitchapan* ſent back Mrs. *Boyce*, naked and unapparaled, in Manner and Faſhion, like one of their *Indian* Queens. 1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

FOR theſe Reaſons, the Governor was unwilling, at that Juncture, to hear of any Treaty with *Opechancanough*; and Captain *Chroſhaw*'s Journey to *James-Town* was in vain; but his Abſence from *Patowmack* had a very unhappy Conſequence, on another Account. For, *Maddiſon* was a Man of a jealous and timorous Nature; and not liking to live among the *Savages*, as *Chroſhaw* did, he built himſelf a ſtrong Houſe, within *Chroſhaw*'s Fort, and there ſoon roſe great Coldneſs and Reſerve between him and the *Patowmacks*. There was alſo then at *Patowmack* an exile King, who was inwardly exaſperated at *Japazaus*, becauſe he would not aſſiſt him in the Recovery of his Kingdom. This ſubtle and malicious Barbarian did therefore, in Revenge, forge a Plot, as if *Japazaus* and the *Patowmacks* were in Treaty with *Opechancanough*, how to cut off and deſtroy the *Engliſh* there. And to give his Lye the greater Credit and Air of Probability, he wreſted and applied ſeveral Circumſtances, that had lately happened, to this Deſign. *Maddiſon*, naturally fearful and ſuſpicious, was alarmed at this, and made his Men ſtand punctually to their Arms. Some time after, under Pretence of Buſineſs, he ſent for the King to his ſtrong Houſe; where having locked him, his Son, and four others up, and ſet a Guard of five *Engliſhmen* upon the Houſe, he fell on the Town, with the reſt of his Company, and ſlew thirty or forty, Men, Women, and Children. The poor King, being ſurpriſed at ſuch an unexpected Aſſault, called out, and begged him to ceaſe from ſo undeſerved a Cruelty. But he gave not over the Execution, till he had ſlain, or put to Flight, all in the Town. Then he returned, and taxed the King of Treachery; who denied it bitterly, and told him, it was ſome Contrivance of thoſe, who wiſhed his Deſtruction, for being a Friend to the *Engliſh*. After that, *Maddiſon* led him, his Son, and two others to his Ship, promiſing to ſet them at Liberty, as ſoon as his Men were all ſafely ſhipped; and the King, very readily and effectually, ordered his Subjects, not to ſhoot at, or annoy the *Engliſh*, whilſt they were going on board. But notwithſtanding this,

Mad-

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

Maddiſon, contrary to all good Faith, carried them Priſoners to *James-Town*; where they lay, till the *October* following, when they were carried home by Captain *Hamer*, who took a Quantity of Corn for their Ranſom. However, this perfidious Dealing did not paſs off, entirely without Notice or Animadverſion. For, Mr. *John Pountis*, as a Caſe properly belonging to his Office of Vice-Admiral, afterwards lodged a Complaint againſt ſome Perſons, who going out to trade with the *Indians*, under Pretence of Friendſhip, and in the Governor's Name, had ſeiſed their Perſons, and ſometimes taken their Lives, and ſometimes their Goods, for nothing, or at their own Rates, contrary to all Laws human and divine, and to the Diſhonour of God's Name, of the King, and the whole *Engliſh* Nation. Altho' this was conceived in general Terms, ſo as to reach all other Perſons, guilty of the ſame Crime, yet we are told, in the Act of Court itſelf, that it was chiefly levelled againſt *Maddiſon* and *Hamer*. And ſome Examinations againſt them were accordingly taken; but by reaſon of *Hamer*'s Sickneſs, and *Maddiſon*'s Abſence, who ſoon after returned to *England*, the Suit dropped, and never proceeded to full Trial.

THIS raſh and unadviſed Action of *Maddiſon* (not to call it by any worſe Name) was of very ill Conſequence to the Colony. For they were thereby cut off from all Hopes and Pretenſions, to trade for Corn on that River; which was then their only Refuge and Dependance, as the *Indians*, in all the other Parts of the Country, were in an open and declared War with them, and as they themſelves had not attempted any thing of a Crop, leſt the Corn, when grown up, ſhould give Means and Opportunity for Aſſaults and Ambuſcades. Captain *Chroſhaw*'s Deſign was alſo quite defeated; who intended to make *Japazaus* a proper Inſtrument and Ally againſt *Opechancanough*. For he had at his Command above two hundred fighting Men, in the Town of *Patowmack*; and was, beſides, a Perſon of great Intereſt and Authority, throughout the whole River, being a Kind of petty Emperor there, and unwilling to own Subjection to the other Emperors, whom he always affected to treat, rather as Brethren than Superiors. It was therefore probably thought, that *Chroſhaw* would have ſucceeded in his Scheme, and might eaſily have made him riſe againſt a Power, which he was before jealous of, and always looked upon, as uſurped and oppreſſive.

HOWEVER Captain *Henry Spilman*, who had been preſerved by the Means of *Pocahontas*, and had lived ſeveral Years at *Patowmack*, relying on his Intereſt and Acquaintance

tance with them, ventured to go thither, in a Bark, with twenty six Men, to trade for Corn. But himself, with twenty one more, were surprised and slain by the *Pascoticons*, the greatest People in those Parts. They immediately boarded the Vessel in their Canoes, and entered so fast, that the five Men, left to guard her, were in the utmost Amazement, till a Sailor gave fire to a Piece of Ordinance at Random; the bare Report whereof so frightened the poor Savages, that they leaped overboard, and forgetting their Canoes, swarm ashore. Soon after, they heard a great Noise among them, and saw a Man's Head thrown down the Bank; whereupon they weighed Anchor, and returned. And thus died this unfortunate Gentleman, who was of a good Family in *England*. He had, three Years before, been tried and found guilty, of depreciating and undermining the Governor's Authority, by telling *Opechancanough*, that a Great Man (meaning the Earl of *Warwick*) would soon come, and take his Place. For which Crime, they thought it a Mercy to spare his Life; but they however degraded him from his Captainship, and condemned him, to be a Servant to the Colony for seven Years, in Quality of Interpreter; for which Office he was peculiarly fitted, by having long lived, and been very conversant, among the *Indians*. 1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

Edward Waters, one of the three, that staid in the Islands of *Bermudas*, and found the great Block of Ambergrease, dwelling in *Virginia*, at the time of the Massacre, was himself, together with his Wife, taken and kept Prisoners by the *Nandsamonds*. But this Fall, some *English*, near *Newport's-News*, were surprised in so great a Storm, that altho' the Men saved their Lives, the Boat was lost; which was cast, by the Winds and Waves, upon the Shore of *Nandsamond*. The *Indians*, finding it, were so busied, with Songs, and Dances, and Invocations, according to their Manner of Triumph, that *Waters* and his Wife found Means, to get secretly into one of their Canoes, and crossed the River, nine or ten Miles over, to *Kicquotan*; where they were received with no less Joy and Wonder by the *English*, than their Escape gave Anger and Vexation to the *Indians*.

SHORTLY after, Sir *George Yeardley* and Captain *Powel*, each with a Company of Gentlemen Volunteers, went to seek the Enemy. But all being fled, except three, which Captain *Powel* met by Chance and slew, they burnt their Houses, destroyed every thing, they could find, and so returned. Three hundred Soldiers, the best, they could chuse, were, not long after, raised and embarked in con-

1622. venient Veſſels, under the Conduct of Sir *George Yeardley*, with all things neceſſary for the Expedition. They went

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor. firſt to *Nandſemond*; where the *Indians* ſet fire to their own Houſes, ſpoiled all they could, and then fled away, with what they could carry off. So that the *Engliſh* had no Opportunity to make any Slaughter of them. But their Corn being newly gathered, they ſeized all, they could find, burnt the Houſes, which the Inhabitants had in their Hurry left unburnt; and ſo departed. From thence they went to *Pamunkey*, the chief Seat of *Opechancanough*. He did not appear himſelf; but the *Indians* there ſeemed exceedingly aſſoniſhed, and promiſed to bring them all the *Engliſh*, yet living, and to reſtore their Arms, and whatever elſe they had; pretending, much to deſire Peace, and to give them any Satisfaction in their Power. But this was only a Device, to procraſtinate the Time, till they could convey away their Corn from all other Places, except where the *Engliſh* were quartered. At length, the *Engliſh*, perceiving their Deſign, ſeiſed on the Corn in their Power, burnt their Houſes, and purſued them into the Woods. But they fled before them, and eaſily eſcaped, not without Contempt and Inſult. For ſome lurked about in Ambuſh, and diſcharged ſome Shot out of *Engliſh* Pieces, which hurt and wounded ſeveral diſorderly Stragglers. After this, Sir *George* returned, with a thouſand Buſhels of Corn, and each of the Soldiers had three Buſhels a piece. Captain *Smith* tells us, that they were however obliged to pay ten Shillings a Buſhel, before they received it, for Freight and other Charges of the Expedition. But the Governor and Council's Letters to the Company, an Authority not to be conteſted, expreſly ſay, that Sir *George Yeardley* freely employed his own Shipping, Shallops, Mariners, and Servants, without any Recompence or Freight at all. But this is not the only Inſtance, in which that Gentleman's Actions are miſrepreſented in *Smith*'s Hiſtory. For, he immediately preceeding and coming after Captain *Argall*'s Government, and having a Commiſſion to examine and puniſh his Offences, became a peculiar Mark of Hatred and Calumny to that Faction. The ſame Letters inform us, that three thouſand Buſhels of Corn more were taken from the Enemy, by Force or Trade, and brought in, by different Parties of Men. By theſe, and other ſuch ſmall Inroads and Depredations, the *Indians* were reduced to great Want and Neceſſity that Winter, and endured no ſmall Miſery and Famine. So that many of the *Engliſh*, in Confidence of their Weakneſs, and Inability to hurt them, returned to their former Habitations. For, beſides plundering and ruin-

ing

ing their Corn, and other Ways of distressing and destroying them, the Governor and Council, in the aforesaid Letter, assure the Company, that more *Indians* were slain that Autumn and Winter, than had ever fallen by the Hands of the *English*, put them all together, from the first Beginning and Settlement of the Colony. 1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THE Earl of *Warwick*, not satisfied with the Spoils of *Virginia*, had also, by his Interest and Intrigues, procured his Follower and Dependent, Captain *Nathaniel Butler*, to be sent Governor of *Bermudas* for three Years; where he exercised the same bare-faced Oppression and Extortion, that Captain *Argall* had done here. But from the petty Offence of plundering the Colony, he proceeded to a higher Crime and Misdemeanor, and committed some Pillage upon a *Spanish* Wreck. This incensed *Gondomar*, and the Lords of the Privy Council sent a sharp Order to the Company, to make an immediate and strict Enquiry into the Matter. The Time of his Government being therefore now expired, a Commission was given to Mr. *Bernard*, who was going over to succeed him, to enquire into the Affair of the *Spanish* Wreck, as well as the Truth of many other Complaints and Allegations, sent over against him to *England*. But, as had been done in Captain *Argall*'s Case, a Bark was dispatched from *Barnstaple*, in which he escaped, just before the Arrival of the new Governor, and came to *Virginia*. He left those Islands in a most miserable Plight, being reduced to Beggary and Ruin, by his Rapines and Extortions; and coming hither in the Extremity of Winter, he found the Colony labouring under the Distresses and unhappy Consequences of the Massacre. Sir *Francis Wyat* received and entertained him, with great Hospitality and Good-manners; but his Behaviour here was infamously lewd and riotous. Among other things, he demanded to be admitted of the Council, and grievously resented his being refused, altho' he could shew no Colour of Right or Title to it. After about three Month's Stay, and having gone up as high as *Chickahominy*, where, like a common Robber or free Booter, he fell upon, and made Spoil of Lady *Dale*'s Cattle, he set Sail, and returned for *England*.

BUT before this, in the Beginning of the Summer, there had been set afoot a most unhappy Affair for the Company; which gave it, as it were, a settling Blow, and not without some Face of Reason, was the Occasion of greater Clamours and Animosities than ever. It hath been frequently related, how the King took all Opportunities of grinding the Company and infant Colony, by laying op-

1622. Sir [illegible] Wyat, Governor.

pressive and illegal Impositions on Tobacco. This he did, partly out of his natural Abhorrence and Aversion to that Weed, but chiefly out of a Desire of Gain. For, with a Conjunction not unusual to be found in Men's Characters, Profusion, and a voracious Appetite after Money, had met together in that Prince's Nature. In all these Exactions, Sir *Lionel Cranfield* had been his principal Instrument. He had been at first a Merchant of *London*, and then an Officer in the Customs, from whence he was introduced to Court, as a Projector; which, in the Language of those Times, signified a Person, who could furnish Expedients to the Ministers, to raise Money, in the Vacancy, and without the Assistance, of Parliament. He was a very wise and dextrous Officer; and in this Execrable Function, had been so useful and successful, that, together with the Advantage of having married one of *Buckingham*'s Relations (an extraordinary Merit then, and an infallible Road to the highest Preferments) he had risen, before this time, to the Dignity of Earl of *Middlesex*, and Lord High Treasurer of *England*. He was himself an ancient Adventurer in the Affair of *Virginia*; and well knew, how uneasy they were, under the Pressure of the Monopolies, Garbling, and other illegal Patents. He therefore resolved to try, whether he could not make the Company consent to their own Oppression, and squeeze out of them a greater Profit and Revenue to his Majesty, by making a particular Contract with themselves.

To this End, he first broached the Matter privately to Sir *Edwin Sandys*; offering a Grant, to the two Companies of *Virginia* and the *Somer-Islands*, for the sole Importation of Tobacco into the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, reserving to his Majesty a certain valuable Rent. This he did, with large Professions of his Love and Affection to the Colony of *Virginia*, whereof he was an ancient Counsellor; and declared, that, besides the personal Duty of his Place, as Lord High Treasurer, his principal Motive herein was the Profit and Advancement of the Colonies. Sir *Edwin* professed his Ignorance, in Affairs of that Nature; but after some Thought, he consulted with Sir *Arthur Ingram*, another Member of the *Virginia* Company, then present, but a fast Creature and Retainer to the Lord Treasurer. At length, considering, that Tobacco was a deceiveable Weed, and the Use of it wholly founded on a Humour, which, might soon vanish into Smoke, and come to nothing, he told his Lordship, that to settle any great Rent in Money, upon such an uncertain Commodity, might soon bankrupt the Companies, and utterly ruin the Planta-

tions.

tions. Wherefore, he conceived it much the safer Way for the Companies, to yield his Majesty a certain Proportion, in Specie, out of the Tobacco itself; whereof, he thought, they might be induced to give a fourth Part, provided they might be discharged from all other Burthens upon it. But his Lordship, falling into a Calculation, told him, that without the Grant of a Third, there could not be that Revenue raised to his Majesty, as was expected; and for the old Custom, of six Pence a Pound upon Roll, and four Pence upon Leaf Tobacco, it was already granted to his Majesty's Farmers, and could not be reversed. 1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

AFTER this, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, by his Lordship's Command, communicated this Proposal to the Lords *Southampton* and *Cavendish*, and the two Deputies; who having imparted it to their Councils, brought it before the Companies. Such a Contract, if it could be concluded on any reasonable Terms, was certainly of very great and visible Advantage to the Companies and Colonies. For it would enable them, by having the whole Commodity in their own Hands, to exclude all foreign Tobacco, and to raise, or at least keep up, the Price of their own; and would as well ease them from the Extortions and Insults of other monopolising Patents, as secure them from any farther Impositions. For the Court, as the Colonies advanced in Strength, was still loading them with new Impositions, and kept them always staggering, and scarce able to go forward, under the Burthen of Taxes and Imposts. And this was then done, solely by the King's Authority, without granting Parliaments their undoubted Right, of giving Money, and laying new Duties on the Subject. And what was a notorious, and (if the sacred Character of Kings and Ministers would allow the Expression) an impudent Breach of Faith, it was done against the plainest and most express Words and Tenor of former Grants; which was, beyond Doubt, the present Case of the *Virginia* Company, as hath been before observed and recited.

HOWEVER, the Companies, sitting down peaceably under these Oppressions, readily embraced this Overture, and appointed each a Committee, to treat with the Lord Treasurer about it. But in the Progress of the Business, his Lordship was still squeezing in new Hardships upon them; and particularly surprised and shocked them with a Proposal, that for each of the two Years, then next ensuing, the Companies should be obliged, to bring in sixty thousand Weight of *Spanish* Tobacco, or otherwise permit forty thousand Weight to be imported by some other. This Proposition seemed very grievous to the Committees, and crossed

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

one of their chief Purposes. They therefore replied: That no such Obligation was laid on the former Patentees for the sole Importation of Tobacco: That the Example of obliging Men to bring in any foreign Commodity, whereof there was sufficient of the Growth of the King's own Dominions, would seem very strange and accountable; and such a thing, as they thought, had not been heard of, in any Part of the World: That to prohibit the planting Tobacco in *England*, and yet to command the importing so large a Quantity from a foreign Country (especially when it was confessedly a great Drain of the Cash of the Nation) would be very grievous to the *English* Subject; and was so odious a thing, that they were ashamed to be concerned in it: That the Quantity of sixty thousand Weight of *Spanish* Tobacco was very excessive, and more than had been imported, in divers Years, when there was no Restraint at all: That so large a Proportion (the whole Import of Tobacco into *England*, upon an Average for the last seven Years, being only an hundred forty two thousand and eighty five Pounds Weight a Year) must utterly abase the Price of the Plantation Tobacco, as manifestly appeared from that Year's Experience; so that the Colonies would part with a third of their Tobacco to the King, without any Retribution in the Price of the rest, as was at first proposed: And that, in excluding all *Spanish* Tobacco, there could be no Room for Fraud or Error; whereas, under the Colour of so large an Importation, it would be impossible to prevent the running and stealing in a much greater Quantity.

THESE Objections were certainly very sharp and home, and did not a little expose the partial and most unpatriot Measures of the Court. But it was the Misfortune of that Time, that the Company dealt much in Reason, and the Courtiers in Command. They were therefore peremptorily told, that this was a Point of such Importance, that it could not be dispensed with, without dissolving the whole Contract. For we must remember, that the *Spanish* Match was still on Foot; and therefore his Majesty would sacrifice so large an Interest of his own Subjects to that Nation, to gratify and oblige his good Friend and Ally, the King of *Spain*; who had been now, for many Years, bubbling and abusing him, to the open Scorn and Mockery of all *Europe*. Besides which, it is not to be supposed, that *Gondomar*, who, about this time, bore a very great Sway in the Affairs of *England*, would let slip such an Opportunity, of acquiring so great a Profit to his Country. And indeed we are told by Mr. *Oldys*, that the Obstruction of these Plantations, was a main Branch of the Aims and Endeavours of that *Spanish* Buffoon;

Buffoon; and that he oppoſed all Voyages to the *Weſt-Indies*, and particularly croſſed theſe Undertakings of *Virginia* and *Bermudas*, leſt from them there ſhould afterwards ariſe another *England* in *America*, of equal Dread and Annoyance to *New Spain*, as that in *Europe* was to the Old. But the Company, having had ſome Gleams of Hope, and dreading nothing ſo much, as falling into their former Calamities and Oppreſſions, did at laſt, after much Diſpute and Conteſtation, conſent to this Article; and the whole Contract was concluded and agreed upon, chiefly on theſe Conditions. For I ſhall in this, as I have done in other Caſes, take the Liberty, for Brevity's Sake, only to give the main Subſtance of Matters, and to leave out ſuch Points, as are immaterial, and of little or no Conſequence to be known.

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

I. THAT the ſole Importation of Tobacco, into the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, ſhould be granted to the *Virginia* and *Somer-Iſlands* Companies, by Patent under the Great Seal of *England*; which Grant ſhould be drawn and conſtrued, in the moſt beneficial Manner for the Companies Behoof, and the Advancement of the Colonies; his Majeſty's Profit, hereafter recited, only reſerved.

II. THAT his Majeſty ſhould, by Proclamation, prohibit all others from importing, as alſo from planting Tobacco in *England* and *Ireland*, during the ſaid Contract, under grievous Penalties; and that what was already planted, ſhould, by Virtue of the former Proclamation, be confiſcated.

III. THAT his Majeſty, and the Lord High Treaſurer, ſhould take all proper Methods, for preventing and confiſcating all Tobacco, unduly imported; and ſhould endeavour, in all Points, to keep up effectually to the true Intent and Meaning of this Contract; and particularly, that his Majeſty ſhould grant no Licences to Retailers of Tobacco, that the Market might ſtill remain free and open, as it had hitherto done.

IV. THAT in Conſideration hereof, as alſo for that the Companies ſhould be diſcharged from all other Payments on Tobacco (excepting only the ancient Cuſtom, in the Book of Rates, of ſix Pence a Pound on Roll Tobacco, and four Pence upon Leaf) the ſaid Companies ſhould pay to his Majeſty the clear Proceed of a full third Part of all Tobacco, Yearly imported and landed by them in the ſaid two Realms: Provided nevertheleſs, that they ſhould not be obliged to import more Tobacco of the Growth of the two Colonies, than they themſelves thought proper.

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

V. THAT the Lord High Treasurer should cause the Custom to be reduced to a Medium for seven Years last past, ending at *Michaelmas*, 1621; wherein should be specified, how much was Roll Tobacco, and how much Leaf, because of the different Custom; and that the Whole should be reduced to a certain Sum of Money, whereof one Third to be paid by the King, for his Part, and two Thirds by the Companies, and the Customers to make no farther Demand on any Tobacco, either imported or exported.

VI. THAT his Majesty should be discharged from Payment of Freight, and all other previous Charges; but that immediately upon the Arrival of the said Tobacco (at which time his Majesty's Interest therein would commence) he should bear the third Part of all Charges, for landing, housing, keeping, and transporting by Land, Sea, or fresh Water, into divers Parts; as also his third Part of all Law-suits, of the Salaries of all Officers, Agents, Factors, and Servants; and in general, of all Matters and Businesses whatsoever, incident to the said Tobacco, or Contract.

VII. THAT all the Tobacco imported, should be consigned into such Hands, as should be appointed by the said Companies; who should, in their General Courts, have the sole Nomination of all Officers, Agents, Factors, Ministers, and Servants, and the entire Management of the said Tobacco: Yielding to his Majesty, a true and perfect Account thereof, and paying the clear Profits, which should become due to his Majesty for his Third, and come into their Hands: In which Account the third of all Charges should be allowed and defalcated, as aforesaid.

VIII. THAT the Companies should be obliged to import, not above sixty thousand, nor under forty thousand Weight of *Spanish* Tobacco, for each of the first two Years of this Contract, and no longer: Upon Condition nevertheless, that the King and State of *Spain* did not purposely (upon Knowledge of their being obliged to import so large a Quantity) raise the Custom, or impose new Burthens and Charges upon their Tobacco; and on Condition likewise, that the Price of Tobacco, at which it was then sold in *Spain*, be not purposely enhanced, and that the Markets be, in all respects, as free and open, as formerly they have been: Provided also, if any of the said Quantity of *Spanish* Tobacco do, in any wise, miscarry by Casualties at Sea, that in that Case, the said Companies should not be bound, to restore and make good the Proportion so lost, by any new Provision and Importation.

IX. THAT this Contract should commence at *Michaelmas*, 1622, and continue for the Space of seven Years, then next ensuing.

THIS

THIS Contract was certainly very well and cautiously worded, by Sir *Edwin Sandys*, who drew it, and was indeed their constant Draughtsman upon all such Occasions. But it was at last esteemed a very hard and pinching Bargain upon the Trade; and as a certain noble Person expressed it, was not to be looked upon as a pleasant Dish, well sauced and seasoned, but as a bitter Potion, which must, of necessity, be swallowed down, for avoiding greater Evils. The Earl of *Southampton* therefore, earnestly desired the Company, duly to consider each Article, and not to spare to give their best Counsel and Advice, in so weighty a Business, which so nearly concerned themselves and the Colonies, it being not only free, but demanded, as a Duty, from every Man, to speak his Mind boldly, as his own Reason should suggest. But after a long Pause, it appearing, that nothing more could be said, than had formerly been delivered, his Lordship, at the Company's Request, put it to the Question, and it was ratified and confirmed, by an almost unanimous Consent, one Hand only being held up against it. After which, it was, by the Lord *Cavendish*, their Governor, proposed to, and confirmed by the *Somer-Islands* Company, with the like Unanimity. For the Adventurers in that Plantation, being about an hundred and twenty six in Number, were all likewise Members of the *Virginia* Company. 1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

BUT before the Bargain was throughly concluded and ratified by the Lord High Treasurer, he pressed in upon them an Obligation, to import the forty thousand Weight of *Spanish* Tobacco, in the best *Varinas*, with a Promise (which however he did not keep) not to trouble them any farther, if that was granted. The Company therefore yielded to it; on Condition, that such a Quantity of best *Varinas* could be procured. For there had been some Years, when the whole Importation of that Kind of Tobacco into *Spain* did not amount to forty thousand Weight. But if *Varinas* could not be had, they undertook (to give his Majesty and the Lord Treasurer Satisfaction) to import the rest of their Quantity, in the best and most costly Sorts of *Spanish* Tobacco. It will doubtless be very surprising to every thinking Reader, to find a King thus load and oppress his Subjects, with the Importation of a foreign Commodity, of no Use or Necessity, but of mere Luxury and Wantonness, and that too, in the dearest and most grievous Manner; especially when that Commodity might be supplied by our own Colonies, and must, in *Spain*, be paid for in hard Cash, as the Case then was. But to account for so unconscionable a Proceeding, it must still be observed, that herein were answered the two grand Ends, which at that time lay nearest

1622. to that Prince's Heart; since by taking off their deareſt Tobaccoes, he did the more oblige the *Spaniſh* King and Nation, and threw more Money into their Pockets, out of his Subjects Purſes (which was, in Truth, ſo much clear Loſs to the *Engliſh* Nation) and did alſo, at the ſame time, advance his own Profit and Revenue. For as the King was, by the Contract, to have the clear Proceed of one Third of all Tobacco imported, it was more to his Gain and Advantage, to have the beſt *Spaniſh* Tobaccoes, which would then ſell for eighteen or twenty Shillings a Pound, and ſometimes more, than the Plantation Tobacco, which would ſcarcely fetch two and ſix Pence a Pound.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THE Affair of the Contract, being thus ſettled and concluded, the next thing that fell under their Conſideration, was appointing proper Officers, with their Salaries; and the reſolving on a ſteady Courſe, for the Management of the Buſineſs. For this Purpoſe, a Committee was appointed out of both the Companies, conſiſting of the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lords *Cavendiſh*, *Paget*, and *Houghton*, Sir *John Brooke*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Sir *John Davers*, Meſſrs. *Nicholas* and *John Farrars*, the Deputies of the two Companies, Mr. *Samuel Wrote*, and others, Gentlemen and Merchants, to the Number of twenty one in all. After a whole Day's Conſultation and Debate, they at laſt agreed upon all Matters; and the Lords *Southampton* and *Cavendiſh*, Treaſurer and Governor of the Companies, reported the Reſult of their Deliberations, to their reſpective Courts. But firſt, the Earl of *Southampton*, with much Candor and Earneſtneſs, entreated the *Virginia* Company, to deliver their Opinions freely, either for, or againſt, what he ſhould then propound; which (he ſaid) himſelf, the Council, and Committee, had conſulted upon, not with Intent to conclude or determine any thing, nor to prejudice the Courts in their Judgment, but only the better to prepare the Buſineſs for their Conſideration; looking upon themſelves, as his Lordſhip expreſſed it, only as Servants to the Court.

AFTER which Declaration, he proceeded and told them, that, as it was propoſed, and in ſome Meaſure concluded, in the Preparative Court, they judged it neceſſary, that there ſhould be one principal Officer, by the Name of Director, on whoſe Sufficiency, Care, and Integrity, the whole Succeſs of the Buſineſs did chiefly depend; and that they conceived the ſaid Director would well deſerve, for his Salary of that Year, five hundred Pounds. Next to him, was a Deputy: For without ſuch an Aſſiſtant, it would be impoſſible for the Director, to undergo all the Burthen of Buſineſs, that would lie upon him. And to this Office they conceived requiſite

requiſite an extraordinary Deal of Pains and Induſtry, and no ſmall Sufficiency. The Third Officer was a Treaſurer, to keep the Caſh. But altho' the Offices of Deputy and Treaſurer were diſtinct in themſelves, and would require two Perſons, yet the better to huſband the Expences for that Year, they thought it beſt (according to the Reſolution of the Preparative Court) to join them both in one Perſon, for the preſent. And to this Officer, they allotted a Salary of four hundred Pounds, for the current Year. Next they conceived it neceſſary, to have a Committee of, at leaſt, eight able and judicious Perſons, choſen out of the two Companies, for ſelling and diſpoſing of their Tobaccoes, and for aſſiſting the Director, with their Counſels, and Help, in the ſeveral Parts of his Office; which would be very many and exceedingly weighty and important. And to theſe, they appointed a Salary of fifty Pounds, a Man. And beſides theſe principal Officers, he told them, there would be neceſſary, two Caſhiers, the one to be conſtantly reſident in the Treaſury, the other to receive and gather in the Monies; a Book-keeper; two Clerks; a Sollicitor; a Huſband, to whom the Cuſtody of the Warehouſes ſhould be committed; and a Beadle; with a Houſe, for the Meetings of the Officers; and Warehouſes, for the Reception of the Tobacco. And the whole Amount of all theſe Salaries and Expences, was computed at two thouſand Pounds a Year, which muſt be raiſed upon the Tobacco. But as the *Spaniſh* vaſtly exceeded the Plantation Tobacco in Price, it was agreed, that it ſhould bear a double Proportion in the Rate of the Charges.

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

His Lordſhip farther told them, that they conceived it neceſſary, that there ſhould be five hundred Pounds more ſet apart, for ſuch contingent Expences, as ſhould occaſionally ariſe; which Money, if it were not, by the Conſent and Order of the Courts, expended for the Advantage and Improvement of the Price of Tobacco, was to be again repaid, to each Adventurer proportionably. And altho' this Sum, of twenty five hundred Pounds a Year, might to many ſeem very great and extraordinary; yet, he ſaid, conſidering, that five hundred Pounds was not to be expended, except for the evident Advantage of the Commodity; and that, of the two thouſand Pounds remaining, his Majeſty was to bear one third Part, and the *Spaniſh* Tobacco a Proportion double to the reſt, he conceived, it would be found no great Burthen upon the Plantations (whoſe Benefit was the grand Point in View) but ſuch, as it was hoped, would be manifoldly repaid, by the Advancement of the Price. And as to the Officers Salaries, he declared it to be his Opinion, that they were far below the Pains, Care, and Charge, that they muſt, of neceſſity, be at.

The

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THE Earl of *Southampton* having thus finiſhed his Report, there followed, for ſome time, a general Silence among the Adventurers. Whereupon his Lordſhip entreated them, freely to ſpeak their Minds concerning all theſe things, and to declare, what and how they would have them done. And he repeated it again, that they eſteemed themſelves only as their Miniſters or Servants, to prepare Buſineſs for the Court, in whom alone, was Power and Authority to determine and conclude Matters. He therefore earneſtly entreated them, without Reſpect to himſelf, or any others, from whom thoſe Propoſitions came, to declare their Opinions freely, eſpecially concerning the Salaries, which, he perceived, was the grand Rock of Offence.

HEREUPON, Mr. *Robert Smith*, the Under-Chamberlain, ſaid; that he thought, many able Gentlemen might be found, who, for Conſcience Sake, would do the Buſineſs for far leſs Salaries. To which Sir *Edward Sackvil* replied; that for his Part, he thought Men bound in Conſcience, to give thoſe whom they employed, ſome reaſonable Satisfaction for their Labour and Pains; and that he had found by Experience, that ſome Men, who had, for Conſcience Sake, ſerved the Company, had alſo, for Conſcience Sake, undone it. But the Earl of *Southampton*, to ſoften the Quickneſs of Sir *Edward Sackvil*'s Reply, and to encourage a Freedom of Debate, declared, that Mr. *Robert Smith* was a very worthy and honeſt Man; and he thanked him, for ſpeaking his Mind freely, deſiring all others to do the ſame. After which, there enſued a ſhort Debate; and it was often obſerved, in the Progreſs of the Affair, that this was properly a Point of Merchandiſe, and not of ſettling Colonies; and that it was not juſt or reaſonable, to expect, that Men, fit to be truſted with, and capable to perform, ſo important a Buſineſs, ſhould expend their whole Time and Labour, for the Advancement of other Mens Eſtates, without any Reward or Retribution at all. Mr. *Barker* alſo now ſaid; that, having been, many Years, a Member of that Court, he had never heard of ſuch great Salaries, as four and five hundred Pounds a Year; but that he had however heard of five hundred, and a thouſand Pounds, deficient in the Accounts of ſome Officers, who did their Buſineſs for nothing. Soon after, the Earl of *Southampton* was called upon, to put the ſeveral Propoſitions to the Vote. But his Lordſhip ſaid, he would once more read them over to them; which having done, and no Man making any Objection, after a good Pauſe, he put the ſeveral things, concerning the Officers and Salaries, above related, diſtinctly to the Queſtion, and they were all approved and confirmed.

THEY

THEY then proceeded to the Election of their Officers. Sir *Edwin Sandys* had been nominated, in a former Court, to the Place of Director; but he earneſtly refuſed it, as being unexperienced in Matter of Trade and Merchandiſe, in which that Officer ought to have an exact Knowledge; and as he could not conſtantly reſide in Town, having a great Family in the Country. Beſides which, he ſaid, he began, as he now grew old, to wax weak; and therefore purpoſed, rather to withdraw from all Buſineſs of the World, than to engage himſelf farther in it. But the Court, eſpecially the Earl of *Southampton* and the other Lords, being not ſatisfied with this Excuſe, earneſtly preſſed him, not to refuſe a Place, wherein he might do ſuch ſingular Service to the Colonies; the whole Welfare of which did, almoſt entirely depend, upon the wiſe and upright Management of this Contract. No other Perſon therefore being ſo much as named againſt him, and himſelf rather not oppoſing, than conſenting to accept the Place, he was, upon the Ballot, choſen Director, by having ſixty five Balls for, and only five againſt him. Mr. *John Farrar* had alſo, at the ſame Court, been named to the joint Place of Deputy and Treaſurer; but he likewiſe refuſed, alledging, that the Company had laid ſuch a Burthen of Buſineſs upon him, for now almoſt four Years together, that he had been obliged to neglect his own private Affairs, which required his immediate and diligent Inſpection. All which the Court acknowledged to be true; yet declared, they held him ſo fit a Man for that Place, that they would not propoſe any other to ſtand in Election with him; and ſo he was choſen, by having ſixty eight Balls for, and only two againſt him. They then made Choice of their Committee, and inferior Officers; and alſo added a Committee extraordinary, to be choſen out of the Council, without Salaries. They were not obliged to a conſtant Attendance; but were only to give their Advice and Aſſiſtance to the Director and other acting Committee, in Caſes of a high and extraordinary Nature. And this Committee conſiſted of the Lords *Paget* and *Maynard*, Sir *Edward Sackvil*, Sir *John Brooke*, Sir *John Davers*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Mr. *Thomas Gibbs*, Mr. *Samuel Wrote*, Mr. *John Smith*, and Mr. *Robert Smith*.

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THE

THE HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

BOOK V.

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

I HAVE, in the former Book, been the more full and exact, in relating the Affair of the Officers and Salaries, as it afterwards became the Subject of much Wrangling and Contention. There was one Mr. *Samuel Wrote*, a Gentleman of Fortune and Distinction in the Company, who had, ever till now, behaved himself with great Moderation, Judgment, and Industry, and had therefore been elected of his Majesty's Council for *Virginia*. This Gentleman did suddenly, in a subsequent Court, held on the 4th of *December* this Year, break forth into much Violence, Indecency, and Opprobriousness of Language; and endeavoured, to call into question and cancel, in an inferior and ordinary Court, what had been settled and determined, by the Authority of a Great and General Quarter Court. He said, that this Affair, which was of especial Consequence to the Company, had been proposed and passed, without that due Preparation, which the Laws and Orders of the Company required in the like Cases; that the lawful and regular Course had not been taken for preparing Matters, but they had been hastily shuffled over; that the Business of the Salaries, in particular, was not duly committed, but carried

carried fouly, and diſorderly, and with much Art, ſurreptitiouſly, and to private Ends; and that divers of the Company did, both then and ſince, as well publickly as privately, in his Hearing, complain much againſt thoſe Proceedings, but that they durſt not ſpeak their Minds freely, becauſe they were overawed. He called the Laws of the Company Sir *Edwin Sandys*'s Laws, becauſe that Gentleman had been very active and induſtrious, in contriving and framing many of them; and being reprimanded by Lord *Cavendiſh*, for an Inſinuation ſo unjuſt and opprobrious to the Company, and for ſo unſuitable a Return to Sir *Edwin Sandys* for doing publick Service, his Lordſhip added, that he had done more Harm by that Day's Work, than Captain *Martin*, Captain *Argall*, or Captain *Bailie*; the laſt of which was Captain *Somers*'s Sollicitor, and had given their Courts much Trouble and Abuſe. To this Mr. *Wrote* replied; that, in terming their Laws Sir *Edwin Sandys*'s Laws, he called them no otherwiſe, than a great Lord did; and ſince his Lordſhip was ſo diſpleaſed with him, he declared, he would never more trouble that Court, where his Lordſhip preſided, but would, at their next Meeting, deliver up his Share in the *Somer-Iſlands* Company. 1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

HE farther objected, that the Committee, in which theſe things paſſed, was very diſorderly, ſome Men talking privately by the Fire ſide; which he imputed to Mr. Deputy's Fault and Negligence, who ought to have moderated and kept Order in their Meetings. And he ſaid, that neither the Council, nor the Committee, had any Authority to treat of the Matter of Salaries; and that there were things reported to the Court, as the Judgment of the Committee, concerning Points, referred to them by the Company, which nevertheleſs were not the Committee's Acts and Doing. And laſtly, he charged and challenged the Deputy, with wrong entering the Proceedings of a Court, the 7th of *October* before. And to this Violence of Accuſation, and Acerbity of Speech, he joined an equally rude and inſolent Behaviour. All which was the more inexcuſable in him, as he was himſelf one of the Committee, who prepared and brought this Matter before the Court, and had, when preſent, concurred with them in their Proceedings, but through Abſence and Negligence in attending that Committe, had now ſpoke moſt of thoſe bitter and reproachful things, merely upon Hearſay and Conjecture.

So many, and ſuch various Accuſations and Abuſes, which affected divers of the greateſt Lords and principal Members of the Company, did naturally produce a long and

1622. and various Debate; in which Mr. *Wrote*'s Arguments and Allegations were fully answered and disproved, by several of the Company; particularly by the Deputy, Lord *Cavendish*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and Mr. *John Farrar*. Many also expressed much Grief and Concern, for this unhappy Altercation; as well out of their private Regard to Mr. *Wrote*, who had thus far been much beloved and esteemed, as out of Fear, lest it should give a Handle to the Malicious, and be the Occasion of much Reproach and Scandal to the Company. But Mr. *Wrote*, with great Violence and Obstinacy, still persisted to have several Propositions, which he made, relating to the Contract, put to the Vote; and being refused, he declared, that since he could not have things put to the Question, and for divers other just Causes of Offence, he appealed to the Quarter Court. Neither could he be silenced or repressed, till the Deputy, at the Court's Request, put it twice to the Vote, and it was, by a general Consent (Mr. *Wrote* himself, and one other only dissenting) a second time ordered and resolved; That since the Points, now moved, had passed the Judgment of a Great and General Quarter Court, they should no more be called into question or disputed, before the next Quarter Court, at which time, if any Person had any thing to oppose against them, they might come prepared, and do it.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THE whole Court, and particularly the Lord *Cavendish*, were much scandalised at this turbulent and offensive Behaviour of Mr. *Wrote*; which was suspected to proceed, not so much from any evil Mind in himself, as from the malicious Infusions of some others, in order to cause Variance and Distraction in the Company. For Alderman *Johnson*, and others of the Faction, were now present; who had of late been generally observed, never to appear at their Courts, but against some Storm and Confusion. Lord *Cavendish* therefore, without naming the Person, immediately wrote a full and particular Account of it to the Earl of *Southampton*, who was then in the Country. Whereupon the Earl, being willing to suppress, in the Beginning, an Affair of such dangerous Consequence, hastened up to Town, and called a Meeting of his Majesty's Council for *Virginia*, on the 11th of the same Month of *December*. But Mr. *Wrote* protested against their Power and Jurisdiction, as he had appealed to the Quarter Court; to which, he declared, he would only submit himself. He then renewed his Accusation against the Deputy, for wrong entering a Court, the 7th of *October* last passed, and thereby bringing the Company three thousand Pounds in Debt. And he did, from his first coming into the Room, behave himself in a most violent

violent and contemptuous Manner, towards the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord *Cavendiſh*, and the whole Council. 1622.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

MR. Deputy ſaid, that the Accuſation againſt himſelf was of a very high Nature, and deeply concerned the Company. For the Entries of their Courts being the Company's Records, to charge them with Falſity, was to call into queſtion all the Records and Proceedings of the Company. He therefore declared the Manner of entering their Courts: Firſt, the Secretary drew them up, and brought them to him, which Draught he, according to the Company's Order, peruſed and corrected; that then it was read in the next Court, diſtinctly, Article by Article, and after a ſufficient Pauſe and Examination, either confirmed, or amended; after which, it was admitted to Record. And he ſaid, that the very Court, now ſpoken of by Mr. *Wrote*, had accordingly gone through this Courſe; and that no Exceptions had been taken to it, not even by Mr. *Wrote*, who was then preſent, and ought to have objected, if there had been any thing wrong. For he would otherwiſe himſelf become privy and conſenting to the Falſification, which he now laid to his Charge. But he averred, that there was nothing in it, to his Knowledge, wrong entered or amiſs; but the whole was truly and faithfully ſet down, by the Secretary and himſelf, according to the Meaning of the Court, as they conceived; which he would, by the Perſons, that were preſent at it, ſufficiently prove. And as to bringing the Company three thouſand Pounds in Debt, there was, and could be, no Manner of Colour or Pretence for any ſuch thing. He therefore ſolemnly proteſted his Innocency; and as, if he ſhould be found guilty of this grievous Charge, he would deſerve the greateſt of Puniſhments, ſo he humbly inſiſted, for his own Juſtification, that the Matter might be ſtrictly looked into and examined.

THE Earl of *Southampton* alſo told Mr. *Wrote*, that he ſeemed to take himſelf to be ſo great a Man, that they were all, as Pigmies, in his ſight; but as he did not know him to be any Prince of the Blood, ſo he deſired, he would carry himſelf with more Calmneſs and Decency. And as to his affrontive Behaviour to Lord *Cavendiſh*, the Earl ſaid; that altho' they were all there equal, as Counſellors of the *Virginia* Company, yet there was a very great Difference between the Perſons of divers of them; and particularly between him and the Lord *Cavendiſh*, to whom he owed a more reſpectful Language and Behaviour. And ſome time after, preſſing him upon his Raſhneſs and Indiſcretion, and on his Failure in his Duty, as a *Virginia* Counſellor, Mr. *Wrote* went out abruptly and departed; ſaying,

1622. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

that he came not thither, to hear ill Words. Whereupon the Earl appealed to the Judgment of the Council, then present, what just Occasion of Offence had been given to Mr. *Wrote*, that he should go off in that rude and unrespectful Manner. They therefore ordered and agreed, that a Collection should be made of those Matters, which should be objected against Mr. *Wrote* at the next Quarter Court, to which he had appealed. And in the mean while, in Regard to the great Contempt, he had that Day shewed, they suspended him from the Council, till he should clear himself of the Matters laid to his Charge, and should come to a better Temper and Deportment.

BEFORE the next Meeting of the Company, Sir *John Brooke*, accompanied with Mr. *John Farrar*, went to the Lord *Cavendish*, and told him; that he found Mr. *Wrote* sorry, for what he had done; and had the Earl of *Southampton* been in Town, he would have gone to his Lordship, and given him Satisfaction. He therefore desired Lord *Cavendish*, on Mr. *Wrote*'s Behalf, that the Court, which was the next Day to sit, might be put off. For if the Proceedings of the former Court, of the 4th of *December*, should be openly read, Mr. *Wrote* would be put upon his Defence and Justification; which would tend to widen the Breach, and to render the thing irreconcileable, which there were now Hopes of having compromised and settled upon amicable Terms. And the Lord *Cavendish*, out of this Hope, and in Compliance with Sir *John Brooke*'s Request, did accordingly cause the Court to be put off and deferred. But Mr. *Wrote* was so far from answering Sir
1623. *John Brooke*'s Expectation, that at the next Meeting of the Company, which was not before the 29th of *January*, he made this very thing a Subject of Complaint; as if that long Intermission of Courts had been purposely contrived to his Prejudice. But being fully answered and silenced on this Head, by the joint Testimony of Lord *Cavendish* and Sir *John Brooke*, he insisted, that the Salary Men, as being interested Persons, and the Deputy, whom he most unjustly called his Accuser (for both he and his Brother were still fast Friends to Mr. *Wrote*, and endeavoured to palliate and make up the Affair) should not be present, when his Business was discussed. He also excepted, in the gross, against the Entry of that Court; saying, he spoke not those Words, neither in Manner nor Form, as they were there set down. Whereupon a long Debate ensued; Whether it was agreeable to the Custom of Courts, and would not be productive of great Inconveniency and Disorder, and raise much Question and infinite Trouble to

the

the Company by the Precedent and Example, if they should suffer that, which had been entered by sworn Officers, to be recommitted, and called afresh in question, whenever it should please any Man, to make Exceptions against it. But for Mr. *Wrote*'s Satisfaction, and to take away all Pretence of Cavil and Complaint, an extraordinary Court was appointed, to examine by Parts, and to rectify the said Court of the 4th of *December*; to which they only, who were that Day present, were warned or admitted, as being the only proper Witnesses and competent Judges of the Matter. 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

At that Court, Mr. *Wrote* still behaved, in the same unaccountable and distempered Manner. He said, he suffered for the Service of his Majesty, and for doing his Duty. He repeated his Appeal to the Quarter Court; and thanked the Gentlemen, then present, for prejudging him to that Court. He also declared, if the Quarter Court righted him not, he would appeal to the King, the Fountain of Justice and Mercy; often repeating the same Words, with great Passion and Vehemence. Mr. *John Farrar* having said, that something was untrue, he ran to him, and whispered in his Ear, that he durst not have said *Untrue* to him in another Place. For which rude Swaggering, he was justly and sharply reproved, by the Earl of *Southampton*. He alledged, that Mr. *Withers*, an eminent Lawyer of the Company, had somewhere said, that the Earl of *Southampton*, as a Privy Counsellor, might commit him; and protested, that under that Fear, he durst not speak freely. He likewise, in a very rude and affrontive Manner, charged the Earl of *Southampton* with saying; that he blundered out his Indiscretion; and for giving him the Lye in the third Person, his Lordship having said; That whoever should say, that Men were in any thing overawed, and durst not speak their Minds, it was put into his Mouth by the Father of Lies; for a fouler Lye himself never told. The Earl owned, that he had spoke those Words; and he said, he would justify and maintain them; and if Mr. *Wrote* applied them to himself, he could not help it. But as to committing him, he desired him to be under no such Fear. For whatever Honours and Respects were due to him, he laid them all aside, when he came to that Place, and only appeared there, as their Treasurer. But he declared, that had Mr. *Wrote* behaved himself towards him so, in any other Place but that, he would not have endured it so patiently; and he therefore wished him, to be more mannerly and discreet. As to the Court of the 4th of *December*, which they then met to examine and rectify, it was found

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

to be rightly entered, in the main Points and moſt material Paſſages; and it was accordingly, after a few ſlight Additions and Alterations, ſo voted and determined, by an almoſt unanimous Voice, one Perſon only diſſenting. And to put the Matter ſtill further out of Diſpute, the Earl of *Southampton* ſummoned another Court, conſiſting of the ſame Perſons, to meet three Days after, and to ſee, that the ſaid Court was rightly entered, according to thoſe Reformations and Amendments.

SOON after, Mr. *Wrote* preſented a Project, for the better and more thrifty Management of the Contract; wherein he propoſed, to have the whole Buſineſs performed for twelve hundred Pounds a Year, and thereby to ſave thirteen hundred Pounds annually to his Majeſty and the Companies. And to give the thing the fairer Courſe and Hearing, the Earl of *Southampton* ſummoned another Court extraordinary, to meet and examine his Propoſal. They went through the Whole, Article by Article; and after a full Deliberation and Debate, which laſted a whole Day, till late at Night, each Point was diſapproved and rejected, generally unanimouſly, and never with above three or four diſſentient from the reſt of the Company.

THE 5th of *February* being the Quarter Court Day, to which Mr. *Wrote* had appealed, and his Affair having made a great Noiſe, and been the Subject of much Scandal and Defamation to the Company, there was a very numerous and ſplendid Meeting, conſiſting of ſix Lords, thirty Knights, Dr. *Donne*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, and a vaſt Concourſe of others, Doctors, Eſquires, Gentlemen, Merchants, and Citizens. And the Lord *Cavendiſh* alſo, to the ſame Time and Place, ſummoned a Court of the *Somer-Iſlands* Company, as they were equally concerned and engaged in the Buſineſs of the Contract. But Mr. *Wrote*, having appeared in Court, ſoon withdrew; declaring to Sir *Samuel Sandys* (who met, and aſked him, whither he was going) that he was ill at Eaſe, and could not ſtay. However Mr. *Brooke*, and other Gentlemen, learned in the Law, delivered their Opinions clearly; that notwithſtanding his Departure, and his pretended Appeal to his Majeſty, as there was no Evidence, that he had really made ſuch Appeal, or that his Majeſty had accepted it, they were no way debarred from proceeding againſt him, in a due and legal Manner. Whereupon Sir *Edwin Sandys* obſerved, that Mr. *Wrote* was not accuſed, or proſecuted, to that Court, but was himſelf the Proſecutor and Accuſer. If therefore his Accuſation was well and juſtly grounded, why did he forſake it then, when that Day and that Court were come, to

which

which he himſelf had appealed; and when the Perſons, by him accuſed, ſtood there, in the Face of the Court, ready to ſubmit themſelves to the Trial, by him called for and demanded? But, he ſaid, Truth and Innocency are bold and ſettled, whereas Calumny and Falſhood are fugitive, fearful. Wherefore, as it was apparent, that the King's Ears had been poſſeſſed, and all Parts of the Town and Country filled, with cauſeleſs Clamours, by Mr. *Wrote* and his Friends; and whereas his Wrongs to the Council, Committee, and whole Company, were ſo great, ſo groundleſs, and ſo pernicious, he concluded, that unleſs ſome Courſe was taken, to puniſh and repreſs him, he could not ſee, but that the whole Government of the Company, muſt utterly diſſolve, and fall into the moſt extreme Confuſion and Contempt. 1623. Sr *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

HEREUPON, at Sir *John Davers*'s Motion, it was firſt unanimouſly voted and agreed, that all Mr. *Wrote*'s Exceptions, Charges, and Imputations, at the late Courts, were utterly falſe and ſlanderous. And then proceeding to his Sentence, after a long Debate, in which ſome propoſed ſevere, and others more gentle Methods, it was at laſt concluded and reſolved; that he ſhould be diſplaced, and for ever excluded from being of his Majeſty's Council for *Virginia*; and that he ſhould not be entirely diſenfranchiſed from the Company, but ſhould only be ſuſpended and excluded from their Courts, for one whole Year abſolutely, in which his Submiſſion ſhould not be accepted, altho' he ſhould offer it. But if, at the Expiration of that Year, he ſhould make his Submiſſion to the next Quarter Court, that then it ſhould be left to the Pleaſure of that Court, whether they would re-admit him or not. But without a full Submiſſion, and due Acknowledgment of his Fault, it was ordered, that he ſhould never be received at all. And it was further reſolved, upon Sir *John Davers*'s Motion, that, if Mr. *Wrote* ſtill perſiſted in his wilful Courſes and unjuſt Aſperſions, or ſhould any way wrong or moleſt the Company, then, for his Conviction and Diſgrace, and for the Company's Juſtification, his Sentence, together with an authentic Copy of his whole Proceedings, ſhould be put into Print.

IT was the Company's great Unhappineſs, that whatever Conteſts or Diſſentions happened among them, the thing was always carried to his Majeſty in the worſt Light; who was but too ready and willing, to receive Impreſſions to their Prejudice. And ſo it happened in this Caſe of Mr. *Wrote*. For Sir *Henry Mildmay*, profeſſing himſelf, to be neither of the Faction, nor the Factious, and that he came

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

not to ſtir up Storms, but to allay them, informed the Company, that upon ſome late Diſcourſe with the King, his Majeſty took Notice of theſe Differences, which were a great Hindrance to the main Buſineſs, and to things of eſpecial Conſequence to the Colony; to which he alſo attributed the great Diſcouragement of divers Adventurers, and their Willingneſs to give up their Shares. And his Majeſty farther ſignified his Will, that the Liberty of the Company, in every kind, ſhould be preſerved and kept entire; and particularly, that no Man ſhould be abridged of the Liberty to ſpeak his Mind freely, ſo he did it with due Reſpect and Decorum. But this, he ſaid, he ſpoke, not as from the King, but as his private Advice and Admonition. And afterwards at this Quarter Court, when Mr. *Wrote*'s Buſineſs came on, he informed the Company, that what he had before intimated to them, as from himſelf, he had now Warrant from his Majeſty to tell them; who, by Way of Advice and Council, but no way to command them, wiſhed, that they would leave verbal Differences, and go on with the Buſineſs of the Plantation.

UPON Occaſion of this Information of Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *Edwin Sandys* obſerved, that of all Mr. *Wrote*'s Calumnies and Accuſations, none was more unjuſt, nor more apparently falſe and groundleſs, than that, wherein he charged the Earl of *Southampton* (though not by Name, yet by neceſſary Inference) of overawing the Company, and depriving them of the Liberty of Speech. And the Earl told Sir *Henry Mildmay*, if it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that they ſhould not meddle with any evil Words, or ſeditious Behaviour, they would all obey and deſiſt from the preſent Buſineſs. But Sir *Henry* declaring, that he had no ſuch Command, but only Warrant, to ſpeak by Way of Advice, what he had now delivered, the Court proceeded to the Cenſure of Mr. *Wrote*. And the Earl of *Southampton* farther ſaid, that this thing ſeemed very ſtrange and unaccountable to him, but he muſt attribute it wholly to Miſinformation; and he wondered, that any Man ſhould be found, ſo ſhameleſs and void of all Truth and Conſcience, as thus to abuſe the Ears, and miſinform the Mind of a King. Whereupon he appealed to the Court, to bear Witneſs in that Point; and they all, with an univerſal Conſent and unanimous Voice, declared, that it was a falſe and unjuſt Imputation; and that they were not overawed, but enjoyed ſuch Freedom and Liberty of Speech, as was in no other Company permitted. And this Declaration they often afterwards repeated, with the ſame Unanimity; the opponent Faction themſelves, altho' they inſinuated and

kept

kept up the Lye at a Diſtance, not being ſo abandoned to all Senſe of Shame, as to ſay any ſuch thing, in the Face of the Court, where there were ſo many Witneſſes to diſprove and confound them. Divers of the Company alſo farther ſaid, that if Men ſhould uſe half the Liberty of Speech in ſome Companies of the City, or demean themſelves with ſo much Rudeneſs and Diſorder, as ſeveral Members did in that Court, it would not be ſuffered or endured, but they would be either puniſhed in the Purſe, or ſent to the Counters. And in Truth, the grand Fault of the Earl of *Southampton* and this Court was, not a tyrannical Government, or imperious Reſtraint of the Freedom of Speech and Debate, but rather, out of a Principle of Candor and Fairneſs, the giving too much Way to Impertinence and Licentiouſneſs of Tongue; which had it been properly reſtrained, and duly puniſhed, it would, in all Probability, have preſerved the Being and Privileges of the Company, and prevented that Diſſolution, which followed. 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

FROM the very Beginning of this Commotion, Sir *Edwin Sandys* deſired Mr. *Wrote*, not to be diſturbed at his Office and Salary. For as he had accepted them with much Reluctancy, and in ſole Obedience to the Company's Requeſt, as they all knew and could teſtify, ſo he would reſign both the one and the other, with a much better Will, than he had ever received them. And he accordingly often made and declared his Reſignation, and very ſeriouſly proteſted, that he would never again accept the Place; and that, in Reſentment of the late Courſes taken to defame the Officers and Salaries, he would not, for any Reward whatſoever, any longer put up with, and endure ſuch Affronts and Abuſes. He therefore deſired the Company, to make Choice of ſome other to the Place of Director, that the Buſineſs, for the Want of that Officer, might not ſtand ſtill, or receive any Prejudice.

BUT as Mr. *Wrote* had thus moved a freſh the Affair of the Officers and Salaries, Sir *Henry Mildmay* confeſſed, that, altho' he was not directly of Mr. *Wrote*'s Opinion, and the Salaries had formerly paſſed with his Vote, yet upon ſecond Thoughts, he had ſince changed that Opinion, and now conceived, that ſuch large Salaries was the ready Way to ruin and overthrow the whole Buſineſs; which, in his Judgment, might have been better huſbanded. And he particularly inſiſted, that as the Salaries were to be raiſed upon the Tobacco, it would be a great Burthen and Oppreſſion on the poor Planter; which had alſo been a popular and conſtant Theme of Declamation with Mr. *Wrote*. In this Opinion, Sir *Henry Mildmay* was ſeconded by Sir *Thomas Wroth*,

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

Wroth, Mr. *Edward Johnſon*, and ſome others. This Point therefore of the Officers and Salaries was again called wholly into Queſtion and reconſidered, at a Court, held for that Purpoſe, on the 12th of *February*. At that time, the Oppoſers of the Salaries deſired, for various Reaſons and Allegations, that the Conſideration might be referred to a farther Day. But Mr. Deputy ſaid, it ſeemed wonderful to him, that Men, who had raiſed ſuch Storms and Clamours about the Salaries, not only to the Diſparagement of the Company's Proceedings, but alſo much to the Hindrance of the Plantation, and to the Diſgrace and Defamation of ſome very worthy Perſons, for accepting thoſe Places, ſhould now, after all this Scandal raiſed, and Miſchief done, be yet unprepared with plain and evident Reaſons, to overthrow them. And he ſaid, he marvelled the more at this, as he then ſaw, before his Eyes, ſome Perſons, who declared, at the Council of the 11th of *December*, when the Conſideration of the Salaries was referred to that preſent Day, that they would, againſt this Time, arm and fortify themſelves, to cut the Throat of the Salaries. Wherefore he earneſtly beſought them, not to interpoſe any farther Delays, but now at length produce thoſe Reaſons, for which they had ſo much traduced and defamed both the Salaries and the Officers. For they had certainly had ſufficient Time, to conſider and ripen the Matter; and nothing would be Reaſon in any future Day, which was not then ſo. Hereupon there aroſe a very long Debate; till the Company, being little ſatisfied with the Reaſons given, and much wearied with the many Diverſions, made from the main Queſtion, eſpecially by Alderman *Johnſon*, called upon the Earl of *Southampton* to put it to the Vote; and it was again voted and agreed, with an unanimous Voice (the Gentlemen in the Oppoſition either retiring, or elſe finding, how inconſiderable their Number was, giving no Vote at all) that the Officers and Salaries ſhould ſtand, as they had been formerly ordered and appointed.

THIS was indeed a very great Concurrence and Unanimity of the Company, in the only Affair, for which the opponent Faction ever ſeemed to have had the leaſt Colour or Shadow of Reaſon. But altho' the Sum of five and twenty hundred Pounds a Year, for the Management of this Buſineſs, may, at a ſlight View, be thought very great and extraordinary, yet if it be conſidered, that thoſe Officers (as it was then calculated and agreed) would have an hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, running through their Hands, it will not be found ſo exorbitant and exceſſive. For it only amounts to five and a half *per Cent.* whereof five hundred Pounds

Pounds a Year, or the half *per Cent.* was not to be expended, except it could be evidently applied for raising the Price of Tobacco. And the two great Salaries, arising to nine hundred Pounds a Year, against which their Exceptions chiefly lay, did not amount quite to one *per Cent.* whereas the whole Stress and Burthen of the Business would lie upon those two Officers, and its Success entirely depend upon their Industry, Care, and Dexterity, in the Management of it. 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

At this Court, the Lord *Cavendish* also moved, that since Sir *Edwin Sandys* would, by no means, hold the Place of Director any longer, they would propose some other Person for that Office. Whereupon some named Sir *Nathaniel Rich*; but he excused himself, as uncapable of discharging such an Office, and would not therefore undertake it, for ten thousand Pounds a Year. But he declared, if he thought himself fit for the Business, he would willingly do it for nothing. Then Sir *Thomas Wroth*, and Mr. *Edward Johnson*, an eminent Lawyer, and very worthy Member of the Society, were proposed; but they both refused, as no way skilled in such Business, or able to execute the Place. Afterwards it was put to the Question; Whether the Company would accept of Sir *Edwin Sandys*'s Resignation, and it was, by a general Erection of Hands, denied. He was therefore very pressingly entreated, not to leave the Place, upon any Discouragement whatsoever; the Company professing, that, without his Assistance, they much doubted of the good Management and Success of so difficult a Business. Even some of the most violent in the Opposition did, at other times, express great Satisfaction in the Choice of Sir *Edwin Sandys*; and declared, that he, or no Body, was able to go through with so thorny and troublesome an Employment: Whilst others seemed disinclined and backward, to be any way engaged in it, except it was under his Management and Direction. And thus the Office of Director was, a second Time forced upon Sir *Edwin Sandys*, with a very general and honourable Testimony of the Company; and he accordingly, with the Committee, entered into Consultation, about a proper Course and Regulation of the Business; which, being brought before the Company, was generally approved and confirmed.

But the Gentlemen in the Opposition, finding all Attempts with the Company vain, took another and more effectual Way to destroy the Contract. For, twelve Days after the Thing had been thus examined a fresh, and again settled and determined, the Earl of *Southampton* and Lord *Cavendish*, the Treasurer and Governor of the two Companies, with the two *Farrars*, the Deputies, Sir *John Da-*

vers,

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

vers, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and ſome others, were called before the Lord Treaſurer; where appeared, on the other Part, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, Alderman *Johnſon*, Mr. *Wrote*, Mr. *Bing*, and others of that Faction, who were ſeconded and aſſiſted by Sir *John Wolſtenholme* and the Cuſtomers. There paſſed much Diſpute and Contradiction between the two Parties, which the Lord Treaſurer heard with great Patience, and without the leaſt Interruption to either Side. And it was here confidently averred, eſpecially by Mr. *Wrote* and Mr. *Bing*, that the Companies, in carrying the Contract, had been overawed by the Earl of *Southampton*; and threatened, unleſs the Contract proceeded, the Colonies would be taken from them. At length, one of the Cuſtomers propoſed to the Lord Treaſurer, that ſince the Contract had been the Subject of ſo much Contention and Diſcord, it might be immediately diſſolved; and that the Companies ſhould be obliged, to bring all their Tobacco into *England*, and pay the old twelve Pence a Pound, Cuſtom and Impoſt; which, he ſaid, would be more ſatisfactory to the Planters, and more beneficial to the King. And he then proceeded to calculate and ſhew, that a Revenue, of twenty thouſand Pounds a Year upon Tobacco, would be thence raiſed for his Majeſty; which was the utmoſt, that had been aimed at or expected. The Lord Treaſurer alſo reminded the Companies of the great Grace and Favour, his Majeſty had ſhewed them, by granting them Lotteries, and other Means, for the Advancement of the Colonies. And this, by the bye, was always inſiſted on, as a vaſt and infinite Obligation, which the Companies could never return; and it was therefore for ever urged as an Argument, for their granting his Majeſty, whatever he demanded. And his Lordſhip concluded, that it was a very unfit and ungrateful thing, whether there was a Contract, or no Contract, not to bring all their Tobacco into *England*, to pay Duty, that his Majeſty's Revenue might be thereby advanced.

THESE Expreſſions of the Lord Treaſurer were received with great Applauſe and Approbation, by the *Warwickian* Faction; who declared, that it had ever been their Deſire, that all the Tobacco ſhould be brought into *England*. And Mr. *Wrote* farther ſaid, that the Colony in *Virginia* had ſent a Petition, to be exhibited to his Majeſty, to that Purpoſe; which was however never preſented to the King, but had been concealed and ſuppreſſed by the Deputy. By this he meant the Petition, already recited (*p.* 200) which was ſent, when no Tobacco from *Virginia* was imported into *England*; but coming after the Prohibition was taken off, it was there-

fore

fore never preſented. The Earl of *Southampton* therefore replied, that the Colony meant nothing leſs by that Petition, than what he now pretended. For the Scope of it was, to obtain Liberty to bring Tobacco into *England*, at a time, when they were utterly debarred from importing any. At laſt they were diſmiſſed; and the Lord High Treaſurer told them, they might ſtill proceed with the Buſineſs of the Contract, notwithſtanding theſe Diſſentions and Oppoſitions. 1623. Sr *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

BUT ſoon after, they were again ſummoned, to meet before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the 4th of *March*; Sir *Edwin Sandys* (the Earl of *Southampton* being then out of Town) and the two *Farrars*, with ſuch, as they ſhould bring with them, for the *Virginia* Company, and for the other Side, Sir *Thomas Smith* and Alderman *Johnſon*, with ſuch Advocates and Aſſiſtants, as they ſhould chuſe; for the *Somer-Iſlands* Company, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, and ſuch, as he would bring with him, and of the oppoſite Party, the Earl of *Warwick*, or Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, with ſuch others, as they thought proper. On that Day, they appeared accordingly, being attended by the Lord *St. John*, Lord *Paget*, Sir *Edward Sackvil*, Sir *John Brooke*, Sir *John Davers*, Sir *Robert Killigrew*, and divers other eminent Members of the Company; and they were told by the Lord High Treaſurer, that this Meeting had been appointed to examine ſundry Complaints, that had been exhibited againſt the Contract, by ſome particular Members of their Companies. Whereupon the Lord *Cavendiſh* made Proteſtation, that, as the Contract had often been, moſt fairly and regularly, voted and concluded, in ſeveral Quarter Courts, neither himſelf, nor the reſt of the Company, which then attended, came to give any Satisfaction to thoſe Members, which now oppoſed it. For they were not only, as the leſſer Part, involved in the general Agreement of the Majority, but had, moſt of them, actually given their Votes and Conſent to the Contract; and it would be to the Prejudice and Deſtruction of all good Government, to be perpetually tampering and treating with them about it. But he ſaid, if their Lordſhips, upon any ſiniſter Surmiſes or Informations, had conceived any Doubts about the Matter, himſelf, and the reſt, were both ready and willing, to give their Lordſhips an Account of their whole Proceedings, and ſuch an Account, as they truſted and were aſſured, would, in every Particular, give all reaſonable Satisfaction.

HEREUPON, the Lords of the Council requiring ſome of the Complainants to make known their Grievances, Mr. *Bing* ſtepped forth, and made a long and very bitter Invective againſt the Contract, and the Manner of paſſing it. In this,

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

this, he uſed great Sharpneſs and Freedom of Speech againſt the Earl of *Southampton*; and endeavoured, by ridiculous and mimick Geſtures, to mock, and turn him into Contempt. But Mr. *Bing* was not now in the *Virginia* Court; where he and his Party had long indulged themſelves, in a moſt immoderate Licentiouſneſs of Speech, and Indecency of Behaviour. And therefore, altho' the Earl of *Southampton* was no ways gracious at Court, nor conſequently to the Lords of the Privy Council, his Majeſty's immediate Creatures, yet they ſharply checked and rebuked him. But the Lord *Cavendiſh* appealed to their Lordſhips for Juſtice againſt him, for having ſo wronged and abuſed the Earl of *Southampton*, a Peer of the Realm, and a Member of that Board, as well now in their Lordſhips Preſence, as at other Times and Places, as he was ready, abundantly to prove. Wherefore Mr. *Bing* was afterwards committed to the Marſhelſea, by an Order of the Privy Council; from whence he was not to be releaſed, until he had made due Submiſſion to the Earl of *Southampton*, and given him all fitting Satisfaction.

BUT as to the main Subject of Complaint in Mr. *Bing*'s Speech, the Lord Treaſurer propoſed to the Companies Three Points, to be conſidered: Firſt, whether the Companies had been overawed? Secondly, whether the Contract was for the Good of the Colonies? And Laſtly, if it was not for the Good of the Colonies, how it might be made ſo? The debating and clearing up theſe Points took the whole Day, both Forenoon and Afternoon. At length, after a long Hearing and Deliberation, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and Mr. *Nicholas Farrar*, Deputy of the *Virginia* Company, were called in, and told by the Lord Preſident of the Council; that they had given a good Account, both of the Reaſons, which induced them to conclude the Contract, and of their fair and upright Proceeding in paſſing it. And he promiſed, that a Report ſhould be made to his Majeſty, by that Board, accordingly; and he doubted not, but that the Contract would be confirmed to them, or elſe ſome other Bargain granted, as much to their Content and Advantage. The Lord Treaſurer likewiſe gave them a moſt honourable Teſtimony, of their upright Proceedings, and wiſe Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Colonies, for the four laſt Years; in which, he ſaid, they had thriven wonderfully, and proſpered beyond Belief. And his Lordſhip further added, that in the former Years, when Alderman *Johnſon* was Deputy, and the Buſineſs was in other Hands, it was carried fouly and diſorderly; ſo that, if the Perſons, then in the Government of the Companies, ſhould be called

to

to an Account for their Proceedings, he queſtioned, whether their Eſtates would anſwer it. 1623.

Sr *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

AND thus did this Affair go off, in all Appearance, greatly to the Honour of the Companies, and to the utter Diſgrace and Confuſion of the oppoſite Faction. But whilſt the Companies were engaged in debating the Matter before the Council, the Earl of *Warwick* and Mr. *Wrote* were with the King; and what Effect their Calumnies and Inſinuations might have on the Mind of that weak Prince, may be eaſily judged by the Event. For the *Virginia* Company, being incouraged by the Third Point, propoſed by the Lord Treaſurer, to be conſidered, *viz.* If the Contract was not for the Good of the Colonies, how it might be made ſo? reconſidered the Whole, in each Article and Particular, and propoſed ſuch Alleviations in the hardeſt Parts, as they conceived reaſonable, or thought there were any Hopes of obtaining. And to this End, the Gentlemen in the Oppoſition were expreſly invited and deſired, to join with them; that, laying aſide all Study of Party and Contradiction, they might unanimouſly, and with the Calmneſs of Reaſon, examine and find out, what was moſt neceſſary and beneficial for the Colonies. But the Principal of thoſe Gentlemen not vouchſafing their Preſence, they proceeded, and drew up a long and particular Repreſentation of the whole Matter to the Lords of the Privy Council; that they might aſſiſt their Suit, and be Interceſſors to his Majeſty for them. But whilſt theſe things were in Agitation, the whole Contract was ſuddenly declared by his Majeſty, to be void and of none Effect. But I cannot diſcover the exact Day, when this was done; nor what were the Reaſons or Pretences for it.

AND this was the End of the Company's Contract with his Majeſty, for the ſole Importation of Tobacco; an Affair, which raiſed vaſt Heats and Animoſities, and gave a Handle, eſpecially on Account of the two great Salaries, to much Clamour and Reproach. And by this Means, the *Warwickian* Faction were ſtrengthened by the Acceſſion of Mr. *Wrote*, Mr. *Gibbs*, Mr. *Bing*, and other Perſons of Conſideration and Figure; and it was now encreaſed to twenty ſix in the whole, whereas it had before been even leſs numerous and potent. As to the Contract itſelf, it was acknowledged, by thoſe, who were moſt vigorous in upholding it, not to be abſolutely and in itſelf advantageous, but only comparatively good, with Reſpect to their former State of Slavery and Oppreſſion under the Cuſtomers and Farmers of his Majeſty's Revenues, and as it would ſhield them from their farther illegal and arbitrary Impoſitions. And the Breach of it was, at this time, the more apprehended, as it

was

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

was likely, that a ſole Importation would be granted to ſome other Perſons, who made Offer of ſo exceeding and large a Revenue to his Majeſty, as could not poſſibly be raiſed, but with the extreme Oppreſſion of the Colonies, and greatly to the Prejudice, if not to the utter Deſtruction, of their growing Trade and Staple of Tobacco.

BUT the Faction, that oppoſed the Companies, did not only, by the Diſſolution of the Contract, endanger the Trade, and render it again ſubject to the Rapaciouſneſs and Extortions of the Farmers and Cuſtomers, but their Contentiouſneſs and Malice had another unhappy Conſequence. It hath been already related, that, in *October* 1621, the Lords of the Privy Council commanded all the Tobacco and other Commodities, to be brought from *Virginia* into *England*; but upon Reaſons given, and a Repreſentation made by the Company, the Matter reſted, and had been no farther inſiſted on. But now, chiefly at the Inſtigation, and by the Offers and Motions of the opponent Faction, their Lordſhips renewed that Order, in very ſtrong and peremptory Terms. For, on the 4th of *March*, when the Companies were before the Council, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and Mr. Deputy *Farrar*, of the *Virginia* Company, were very ſharply reprimanded and threatened, becauſe ſome Ships had lately gone from the Colonies to *Holland*; and they were ordered, to ſignify and declare to their Companies, that it was the Pleaſure and expreſs Command of that Board, that all the Tobacco and other Commodities of the Plantations, ſhould be brought directly to *England*.

WHEN this Affair came before the Company, Sir *Edwin Sandys* ſaid, that he ſhould always be the Son of Obedience, and yield a ready Submiſſion to the Commands of the higher Powers; as he well knew, it was the Intent and Inclination of the Company to do. Yet, in Caſes of evident Impoſſibility or publick Detriment, he thought it the Part of well-ordered Duty, to make a juſt and true Repreſentation of the Matter, and modeſtly propoſe their Reaſons againſt it. He therefore obſerved, that the Commodities of *Virginia* had three ſeveral Sorts of Owners. Firſt, the Company; ſecondly, particular Hundreds and Plantations, belonging to private Adventurers in *England*, as *Southampton* Hundred, *Martin*'s Hundred, and the like; and thirdly, Planters inhabiting and reſiding in *Virginia*, whoſe Part he conceived to be far the largeſt and moſt conſiderable. As to the firſt, the Company's Commodities, they certainly had them in their own Power, and could always import them into *England*. But over the two latter Sorts, he conceived

the

the Company to have no Power, by Law, to command or controle them. For the Inhabitants of *Virginia* were, by his Majesty's original Charters and Grants, declared to be as free, as the rest of his Majesty's Subjects, which inhabited the Realm of *England*, or any other of his Dominions. And besides, the particular Societies, and divers of the private Brothers in *England*, and of the Inhabitants in *Virginia*, had Ships of their own; and it was not in the Power of the Company, to prevent or restrain them, from carrying their Goods to the best and most promising Markets. 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

HE farther observed, that *Virginia* had, or would probably soon have, many Commodities, as Salt, Fish, Pipe-staves, Caviary, and the like, which in other Countries might be vendible at an indifferent Price, but not in *England*. Considering therefore, that within a few Years, when the Term granted in their Letters-patent was expired, the King was to have Custom of all Merchandise in *Virginia* itself, if these Goods should pay a second Custom in *England*, and afterwards a third Custom in foreign Parts, where they were vended, there could be no Doubt, but that these three Customs, together with the Freight of such cheap and bulky Kinds of Merchandise, and the other contingent Charges, would so feed upon the Commodity, as to leave little or nothing, for the Sustenance and Profit of the Adventurer and Planter.

HOWEVER, he said, as the *Virginians* had been driven, by the Rigor of former Contractors with the Crown, to seek foreign Markets for their Commodities, so he doubted not, but by gentle Usage and good Treatment, they would be easily induced to return back to *England*, their best and most natural Market. But as for what had been alledged by a very honourable Person, that the *Spanish* Colonies brought all their Merchandises into *Spain*, and to no other Place, he said, there was a very evident and important Difference between the Case of the *Spanish* Colonies and the *English*. For the State of *Spain* suffered no other Commodities of the same Kind, to be brought into that Kingdom, which was an exceeding great Encouragement and Benefit to their *American* Plantations; whereas in *England*, the Commodity, which could be easily and abundantly supplied from our own Colonies, was not only permitted, but even strictly enjoined, and sternly commanded, to be imported from a foreign Country. But if his Majesty would afford them the same Privilege and Favour, that the King of *Spain* did to his Colonies, and would prohibit the Importation of all Commodities from foreign Parts, that could be furnished by our own Plantations, there would doubtless be all ready and joyful

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

joyful Obedience yielded to this Command, of bringing all their Commodities into *England*. But without such a Qualification and Privilege, he declared it to be his Opinion, that this was a Proposition extremely oppressive and hurtful to the Colonies, and must soon bring them to utter Ruin and Destruction.

THIS clear and pathetic Account of the Case was received with the general Applause and Approbation of the Company; and Mr. *Rider* added, that there seemed to him to be another material Difference, between the *Spanish* and *English* Plantations. For the *Spanish* Colonies were founded by the Kings of *Spain*, out of their own Treasury and Revenues, and they maintained the Garrisons there, together with a large Navy, for their Use and Defence; whereas the *English* Plantations had been at first settled, and since supported, at the Charge of private Adventurers; unless it might be excepted, that his Majesty, out of his great Grace and Favour, had granted them some Lotteries and Collections, the Produce of which had nevertheless been expended, merely for the publick Service. To which it might have been justly added, that those vast Obligations of Lotteries and Collections were very cheap to his Majesty, he never having contributed one Farthing himself in them, altho' he was a very great, and in a manner the only Gainer yet, by these Settlements. At length, in order to lose no Time, Sir *Edwin Sandys* and Mr. *Christopher Brooke* were desired, to take both the Reasons, which had been formerly presented to their Lordships by the Company, together with such new ones, as had been now alledged, and to draw up a brief Answer to this Order of the Privy Council. And whereas the Matter was already so well prepared and digested to their Hands, it was thought, they might easily do it, during the sitting of the Court. Whereupon they withdrew, and soon returned with an Answer, containing much the same in Purport with that, presented to their Lordships, about a Year and a Half before, by Mr. *John Farrar*, then Deputy-Treasurer of the *Virginia* Company. This Draught, being deliberately read in the Court, was ratified and approved by the Company; and Lord *Cavendish*, Lord *Paget*, and Sir *Edward Sackvil* were entreated, to deliver it to the Lords of the Privy Council, in the Company's Name.

BUT this Stiffness and Resolution of the Company did, by no means, turn their Lordships from their Purpose. For I find, by another Order of the Privy Council, dated the 28th of *April* this Year, that they still strenuously insisted on, and strictly enjoined them, to import all their

Com-

Commodities into *England*. But as some Alleviation and Encouragement, the King, in the same Order of Council, declares; that, instead of the twelve Pence, formerly answered to his Majesty, he would, for the future, be content with nine Pence a Pound on Tobacco (the Customers having abated three Pence a Pound Custom) and that all Tobacco, then lately imported into *England*, should be delivered to the Proprietors, on paying that nine Pence only. And for the Information of the People in *Virginia*, that they might know, how to comport themselves herein, this Order was transmitted hither, and is still extant among the Records of our Council. At the same time, the Lords of the Privy Council wrote a Letter to the Governor and Council here; informing them, of his Majesty's gracious Intentions, towards the Colony; and commanding them, not to be discouraged by any loose Advertisements, proceeding from Faction, Malice, or private Ends. But they streightly charged and required them, in his Majesty's Name, to live together, in that Concord, Unity, and joint Care of the common Good of the Plantation, as became the Undertakers of such an Action, the Subjects of such a King, and the Professors of such a Religion. They told them also, that they were informed by some, who had lately been Eye-witnesses, that their Fortifications, Houses of Habitation, and Provision of Victual, were not cared for in such sort, as they ought to be; which was highly displeasing to his Majesty. And therefore they required them, to be more careful hereafter, as well for themselves, as for the publick Weal and Subsistence of the Colony. 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

But the Contract being dissolved, and the Benefit of sole Importation taken from the Company, the *Warwickian* Faction themselves were soon alarmed, at the Apprehension of a general and unlimited Importation of Tobacco. Wherefore Sir *Nathaniel Rich* proposed to the Company, their entering into a new Treaty with his Majesty, for the sole Importation, and for farming the forty thousand Weight of *Spanish* Tobacco; which he gave them to understand, from some Speech, he had lately had with the Lord Treasurer, there were great Hopes of obtaining. But his Proposition was slighted and rejected, as a Scheme, which had lately been rendered abortive, by himself and his Faction; and as it would be necessarily productive of those Salaries and Expences, which they had so loudly exclaimed against. But soon after, the same Gentleman informed the Company, that there was like to be a free Importation of all Sorts of foreign Tobacco, without Stint or Limitation; and that there was a Proclamation shortly to come forth,

1623. Sr *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

to that Purpose. This was a thing before not suspected or imagined; and it was unanimously judged, to be utterly destructive of the Colonies. For as the meaneſt Tobaccoes might be bought in *Spain*, for ſix Pence a Pound, the Price of the Plantation Tobacco, after the Diſcharge of Freight, Cuſtom, Impoſt, and other Charges, would be reduced to little or nothing. The Company therefore unanimouſly entered upon ſeveral Schemes and Meaſures, to prevent ſo unfortunate an Event; all which at laſt ended, in a bare Promiſe from the Lord Treaſurer (and the Court Promiſes of that Time were not greatly to be depended upon) that forty thouſand Weight of *Spaniſh* Tobacco only, ſhould be imported into *England*.

SIR *Thomas Smith*'s Accounts remained ſtill unſettled, and Sir *Edward Sackvil* was among the freeſt in his Cenſures and Complaints of this Matter. About this time, Sir *Thomas Smith*, caſually meeting him, complained and expreſſed much Concern, that he ſhould publickly, and in divers Places, ſay, that Sir *Thomas* was indebted to the Company. Sir *Edward Sackvil* was a young Nobleman of a frank and generous Nature. He ſpoke freely, whatever he thought, and was not at all of a Turn to deny, what he had once ſaid. He therefore confeſſed it to be true, and gave his Reaſons for it. Whereupon Sir *Thomas Smith* ſolemnly proteſted his Clearneſs and Integrity, and as a Proof of it, aſked Sir *Edward Sackvil*; If he was ſo much in the Company's Debt, why they did not, eſpecially in this their Time of Want and Neceſſity, ſue and recover it? For he was undoubted ſolvent, and able to make them full Satisfaction. But, he ſaid, it was ſo far from this, that he had been now, for the Space of three Years, in vain importuning and ſolliciting an Audit of his Accounts, and had, for that End, delivered in all his Books to the Company. This was alſo confirmed by Sir *Humphrey Handford*, then Sheriff of *London*, and one Mr. *Abdy*, a rich Merchant; who told Sir *Edward Sackvil* further, that they had formerly, by the Company's Appointment, examined Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Accounts, and found the Ballance five hundred and odd Pounds in his Favour, which they had accordingly witneſſed under their Hands, and delivered in to the Court. As to this Aſſertion of theſe two Gentlemen, I find, at a Court held *May* 12, 1619, on the Motion of Sir *Thomas Smith*, Mr. *Maurice Abbot*, Mr. *Humphrey Handford*, and Mr. *Anthony Abdy* were admitted to be preſent at the auditing the Account, to ſee, that Sir *Thomas Smith* received no Wrong. But it was alſo ordered, that three of the old Auditors, viz. Sir *Edwin Sandys*, then

Treaſ-

Treasurer, Sir *John Davers*, and Mr. *John Wroth* should be of the *Quorum*, and that nothing should be concluded, without the Consent of two of them at the least. And soon after, at .. Quarter Court, Mr. *Abbot* and those two Gentlemen, together with Mr. *Thomas Keightly* for the Company, were admitted extraordinarily into the Number of legal Auditors. But that the Accounts had ever been fully audited and passed by them, is plainly false, by the whole Course and Tenor of the Company's Records. And if these Gentlemen, who were only Auditors *ex parte*, on Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Behalf, did give in any Paper to the Court, relating to the full Settlement and Ballance of those Accounts, it could never surely, either in Law or Reason, be received as authentic and definitive. But Sir *Edward Sackvil* being unacquainted with the Proceedings of those Times, Sir *Thomas Smith* besought him, that his Accounts might be passed; and that he might be no farther molested upon that Head, but permitted to go in Peace to his Grave, being already far stricken in Years, and sufficiently afflicted with the many Infirmities, incident to old Age. But he declared, that none of those Pains and Afflictions were comparable to the Grief and Anguish of Mind, which he received from these injurious Attacks on his Good-name and Reputation; especially as they proceeded from Persons, from whom he had hoped, by his many Years Services, a far different Usage and Return.

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

Sir *Edward Sackvil*'s generous Nature was affected with this Discourse; and he very earnestly and warmly moved the Company, to appoint some Persons, to put an immediate and effectual End to this Business. For, as Sir *Thomas Smith* had thus fairly put himself upon his Trial, he thought, that to delay it, would hardly be just, and to deny it quite, would be an evident and downright Injustice. Whereupon Sir *Edwin Sandys* said, that the Office of Auditors, as he conceived, was not to make, but to examine and settle an Account; that the Accounts, exhibited by Sir *Thomas Smith*, had been found by the Auditors, after great Labour and Pains spent upon them, to be so disorderly, intricate, and defective, that they scarce merited the Name of Accounts; that he spoke not this, to lay any Aspersion on Sir *Thomas Smith*, further than of Neglect (for it was well known, that he neither made, nor kept those Accounts himself) but to clear the Auditors and the Company, from all Imputation and Blame. For they had often declared their Exceptions and the Difficulties of those Accounts, as well to Sir *Thomas Smith*, as to the Company; and he then had a Writing, which contained many weighty

1623. Exceptions againſt them. However, altho' they ſeemed to him to be altogether bottomleſs and unexaminable, yet he promiſed, that the Auditors ſhould proceed in them, with all poſſible Expedition,

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

ALDERMAN *Johnſon* and Mr. *Eſſington* were now likewiſe found, to be clearly indebted eight hundred Pounds to the Company, beſides the old Magazine Accounts, which they kept ſo dark and intricate, that the Auditors had not yet been able, fully to explicate and unravel them. And Sir *Samuel Argall* (for, about this time, he received the Honour of Knighthood) was ſtill under Proſecution from the Company, for his Rapines and extortionate Adminiſtration in *Virginia*. So that it was evident, that theſe Gentlemen could never be ſafe or ſecure, as long as the Company continued in Being; and it is greatly to be ſuſpected, that they, by the Part they acted in the late Commotions, aimed not ſo much at the Diſſolution of the Contract, as the Diſſolution of the Company. But now the Contract being annulled, and the Diſturbances ſomewhat allayed, they reſolved to keep the Company ſtill in Employment, and not permit them to enjoy any long Leiſure or Tranquility. For ſoon after the Diſſolution of the Contract, Alderman *Johnſon* preſented, in a private and concealed Manner, a Writing to his Majeſty, entitled; *The humble Petition of ſundry Adventurers and Planters in the Virginia and Somer-Iſlands Plantations.* The Subſtance of this was:

THAT among the many memorable Works of his Majeſty's gracious Reign, the Plantations of *Virginia* and the *Somer-Iſlands* were not the leaſt conſiderable: That theſe were the firſt *American* Colonies, attempted and brought to Effect, by the *Engliſh* Nation: That the Beginning of the Enterpriſe was attended with ſo great an Expence, without any preſent Hope of Retribution, as was ſufficient, at the firſt View and Computation, to have diſcouraged the moſt forward and reſolute Adventurers: That however, by the Divine Aſſiſtance and his Majeſty's gracious Encouragement, together with that mild and diſcreet Government, at firſt ſettled and appointed by his Majeſty, all Sorts of Men were, in ſuch kind and friendly Manner, invited and induced to engage themſelves in it, that notwithſtanding thoſe many Difficulties, that great Action, which muſt otherwiſe have periſhed in the Birth, not only took Life and Being, but alſo proceeded, for many Years, in a moſt hopeful and comfortable Courſe: That there was then Unity and Love among themſelves at home, and Peace and Quiet with the Savages abroad; by which means, ſundry

of

of those Infidels, and some of eminent Rank, were converted to the *Christian* Religion, and many Staple Commodities began to be raised and imported into *England*: That such were the Blessings, in those Times, upon their just and peaceable Proceedings; whereas it had come to pass, they knew not how, that notwithstanding his Majesty's Subjects had been, in great Multitudes, transported to the Plantations, yet the aforesaid Commodities, and the other Fruits of the Enterprise, had not appeared of late, as in former Times; their Unity at home was turned into civil Discord and Dissension; and their Peace abroad, into Massacre and Hostility between the Natives and the Colony; and that many of the ancient Adventurers and Planters conceived themselves, to be many ways injured, abused, and oppressed: 1623. Sr *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THAT fearing, upon these Accounts, without the Help of a supreme Hand, the utter Ruin and Destruction of those great and noble Undertakings, and not holding it fit, to trouble his Majesty's sacred Ears with all particular Complaints and Allegations, they humbly besought him, to nominate and appoint some worthy Persons, by Commission under the great Seal of *England*, who by Oath, or otherwise, by all lawful Ways and Means, should enquire and examine; What was the true State of the Colonies, at the Time, when Sir *Thomas Smith* left the Government of the Companies; what Monies had since been collected for the Plantations; by whom received, and how the same had been procured and expended; and what, after so vast an Expence, was the present State and Condition of the Colonies: That the said Commissioners should also enquire into all Grievances and Abuses; what Wrongs had been done to any of the Adventurers or Planters, together with the Grounds and Causes thereof; and should propose, how the same might in time to come, be reformed and prevented; and how the Business of the Colonies might be better managed and carried on. So that, all Contentions being reconciled, the Authors thereof condignly punished, Peace and Unity restored, and the Government of Affairs better established, those noble Works might go on and prosper with a Blessing from Heaven, to his Majesty's great Honour and Profit, and to the religious and publick Ends, for which they were at first undertaken.

ABOUT the same time, Captain *Nathaniel Butler*, a Creature of the Earl of *Warwick*'s, who had been sent to pillage *Bermudas*, and had fled thence to *Virginia*, as hath been already mentioned, was introduced to the King, and obliged, as it was pretended, to give his Majesty an Ac-

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

count of the State of the Colony in *Virginia*. This he presented, under the ſtarched and affected Title of, *The unmaſked Face of our Colony in Virginia, as it was in the Winter* 1622. This contained the following Particulars and Allegations.

1. THAT he found the *Engliſh* Plantations generally ſeated upon mere Marſhes, full of infectious Bogs and muddy Creeks and Lakes; and thereby ſubject to all thoſe Inconveniencies and Diſeaſes, which are commonly found in the moſt unhealthy Parts of *England*, whereof every Country and Climate hath ſome.

2. THAT he found the Shores and Sides of thoſe Parts of the main River, where the Plantations were ſettled, every where ſo ſhallow, that no Boat could approach them. So that, beſides the Difficulty, Danger, and Spoil of Goods in Landing, the poor People were forced to a continual Wetting and Wading, and that in the Midſt of Winter, when the Ships commonly arrived; and that they thereby got ſuch violent Surfeits of Cold upon Cold, as never left them, till they were brought to their Graves.

3. THAT the People, ſent over, arriving, for the moſt part, very unſeaſonably in Winter, found neither Gueſt-houſe, Inn, nor any ſuch Place, to ſhelter themſelves from the Weather; nor, not ſo much as a Stroke given, towards any ſuch charitable and neceſſary Work. So that many, for want hereof, were not only ſeen dying under Hedges, and in the Woods, but being dead, lay ſome of them many Days, unregarded and and unburied.

4. THAT the Colony, that Winter, was in great Diſtreſs for Proviſions, ſo that *Engliſh* Meal was ſold for thirty, and their own native Corn, called Maize, for ten and fifteen Shillings a Buſhel. But that, however heavy this might lay upon the poor People, there were Reaſons to ſuſpect, it was not unaffected by the chief Men. For they only having the Means, in theſe Extremities, to trade with the Natives, did hereby engroſs all into their Hands, and ſell it out at their own Prices. To which he added, that he himſelf had heard from the Mouth of a prime one among them, that he would never wiſh their own Corn cheaper, than eight Shillings a Buſhel.

5. THAT their Houſes were generally the worſt, that he had ever ſeen; the meaneſt Cottages in *England* being every way equal, if not ſuperior, to the beſt Houſes in *Virginia*. And that beſides, they were ſeated, ſo improvidently, and ſcatteringly one from another, as partly by their Diſtance, but eſpecially by the Interpoſition of Creeks and

and Swamps, they offered all Advantages to the ſavage Enemy, and were utterly deprived of the Means of ſudden Recollection, upon any emergent Occaſion. 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

6. THAT he found not the leaſt Piece of Fortification: That three Pieces of Ordinance only were mounted at *James-City*, and one at *Flower-de-hundred*, but not one of them ſerviceable. So that it was certain, that a ſmall Bark of an hundred Tons might take it's Time, to paſs up the River, and coming to an Anchor before *James-Town*, might beat all their Houſes about their Ears, and ſo forcing them to retreat into the Woods, land under the Favour of their Ordinance, and rifle the Town at Pleaſure.

7. THAT expecting, according to their printed Accounts, to find ſundry Commodites in great Forwardneſs, he found not any one of them ſo much as in any Towardneſs of Being. For the Iron-works were utterly waſted, and the People dead; the Glaſs Furnaces at a Stand, and in ſmall Hopes of proceeding; and as for the reſt, they were had in general Deriſion, even among themſelves; and the Pamphlets concerning them, being ſent thither by hundreds, were laughed to Scorn, and every baſe Fellow gave them the Lye in divers Particulars. So that Tobacco was their only Buſineſs, and for ought he could obſerve, every Man madded upon that, and little thought of, or looked after, any thing elſe.

8. THAT he found the ancient Plantations of *Henrico* and *Charles-City* quite deſerted, and abandoned to the Spoil of the *Indians*; who not only burnt the Houſes (ſaid to be once the beſt in the Country) but fell upon their Stocks of all Kinds, and killed and deſtroyed them, to the great Grief, as well as utter Ruin of the old Inhabitants; who ſtuck not to affirm, that theſe were not only the beſt and moſt healthy Parts of the Country, but might alſo, by their natural Strength of Situation, have been the moſt eaſily preſerved of all others.

9. THAT whereas, according to his Majeſty's gracious Letters-patent, his People in *Virginia* were to be governed, as near as poſſibly could be, according to the excellent Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*, he found, not only ignorant and forced Errors in divers Particulars, but alſo wilful and deſigned Deviations from Law. Inſomuch that ſome Perſons, who urged due Conformity to his Majeſty's gracious Intentions, were termed, in Contempt, *Men of the Law*, and were even excluded from thoſe Rights, which they were elected and ſworn unto in *England*.

10. THAT there having been, as it was thought, ten thouſand Souls tranſported to *Virginia*, there were not, at

1623. that preſent, through the aforeſaid Abuſes and Neglects, above two Thouſand of them to be found, and many of thoſe alſo, in a moſt ſickly and deſperate State. So that it might be undoubtedly expected, unleſs the Confuſions and private Ends of ſome of the Company in *England*, and the bad Execution of their Agents in *Virginia*, were ſpeedily redreſſed, by a divine and ſupreme Hand, inſtead of a Plantation, it would ſhortly get the Name of a Slaughter-houſe, and ſo juſtly become odious to themſelves, and contemptible to all the World.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THE End and Deſign of theſe Repreſentations, together with their Falſhood and Unjuſtneſs in the main, will be eaſily ſeen from the foregoing Narration. But however ſlily and covertly they were preſented to the King, the Knowledge of them could not be long kept from the Company. For the Lord *Cavendiſh* and Sir *Edward Sackvil* were ſoon advertiſed, by their Friends at Court, of Alderman *Johnſon*'s Petition; and they had an extraordinary Court of the Company immediately warned, in order to enter upon ſome preſent Courſe, to prevent it's making any ſiniſter Impreſſions upon his Majeſty's Breaſt. This Court ſent ſome of their Body to deſire Alderman *Johnſon*, either to bring, or ſend them, a Copy of the Petition, he had lately preſented to his Majeſty. But he ſaid, he had neither himſelf a Copy, nor knew of any Perſon that kept a Copy of it. However he aſſured them, that the Petition was no ways againſt the Company. This was likewiſe affirmed by ſome, then preſent in Court, who had been at the Delivery of the Petition. They alſo profeſſed themſelves, to be as ſtudious of the Good of the Plantation and of the Company, as any other whatſoever; and therefore deſired the Company, not to intermeddle or engage themſelves in the Matter, before they had ſeen the Petition. But this not ſatisfying the Court, they were deſired to declare, what was the Subject of their Complaint, and againſt what Perſons. For Lord *Cavendiſh* ſaid, if they did not find themſelves aggrieved with the Company, they ought not to have complained to his Majeſty at all, 'till they had firſt made known their Grievances to the Court, and ſeen, what Remedy would have been by them applied. At length, Sir *Edward Sackvil* ſaid, that altho' Alderman *Johnſon* and his Accomplices would give them no Light into the Affair, yet himſelf, and ſome others in Court, could fully and certainly inform the Company, what was the Subſtance of that Petition. Whereupon he gave them a ſhort and exact Account of it's Purport and Aim, and declared

declared it to be true, upon his own certain Knowledge; which was likewiſe confirmed by the Lord *Cavendiſh*. The Court was in no Doubt or Heſitation about the Matter, but clearly judged it, to be directly againſt the Company; and accordingly reſolved, to juſtify their Conduct. But as to the Iſſue of the Alderman's Petition, they readily joined in it, and ordered a Petition to be preſented in the Company's Name, to beſeech his Majeſty, that the Examination of theſe things might be referred to the Lords of the Privy Council; that ſo their Innocency, or their Guiltineſs, might be either cleared, or puniſhed. And in the mean time, to prevent all Prepoſſeſſion againſt them, they ordered a Declaration of the preſent State of *Virginia*, comparatively with it's former State under Sir *Thomas Smith*, which had, by the Earl of *Southampton*'s Order, been drawn up by a Committee of the Council, about the *Chriſtmas* before, to be now read in the Court, and being, with ſome ſmall Alterations, confirmed, to be delivered to his Majeſty, as the Company's Act. This Declaration ſet forth: 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THAT in *December*, 1618, being the twelfth Year from the firſt Settlement of the Colony, after fourſcore thouſand Pounds Expence, and upwards, of the publick Stock, beſides other Sums of private Planters and Adventurers, there were remaining in *Virginia* about ſix hundred Perſons, Men, Women, and Children, and of Cattle about three hundred at the moſt; and that the Company was then left in Debt near five thouſand Pounds: But that then (*Chriſtmas* 1622) through the Divine Bleſſing, notwithſtanding the late Mortalities in all thoſe Parts of *America*, and notwithſtanding the Maſſacre, and the great Mortality, conſequent thereon, by the People's being driven from their Habitations and Proviſions, there were ſtill remaining (as was computed) above five and twenty hundred Perſons, ſent over at the Expence only of thirty thouſand Pounds of the publick Stock, beſides the Charges of particular Societies and Planters; that the Cattle were alſo encreaſed to above a thouſand Head, beſides Goats, and infinite Numbers of Swine; and that the old Debt, left on the Company by Sir *Thomas Smith*, was wholly diſcharged:

THAT at the ſaid Time, *December*, 1618, the only Commodities of Value, returned from *Virginia*, were Tobacco and Saſſafras; whereas, during the four laſt Years, great Sums had been expended, and infinite Care and Diligence beſtowed, by the Officers and Company, for ſetting forward various Commodities and Manufactures; as Iron-Works, Wine, Silk, Sawing-Mills, Salt-Pans, and other things of the like Nature: And that they had been particularly

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

larly careful, according to his Majesty's Advice and Directions, to restrain the Colony from their too eager Pursuit of Tobacco, as did abundantly appear, from their frequent Letters, Instructions, and Charters to that Effect, with sundry printed Books and Pamphlets, made purposely and published for their Use and Direction:

THAT as to the Government, it had been, within the four last Years, reformed according to his Majesty's original Directions, in the Letters-patent; and the People were no longer discontented and mutinous, but now lived in great Peace and Tranquility: And to the End, that Persons of Worth might be allured to the Places of Power and Profit, and all Occasion of Rapine and Extortion removed, they had raised a competent annual Provision and Revenue, for the Governor, and all other Officers and Magistrates, and particularly for the Clergy, according to the Degree and Quality of each Place:

THAT these their Cares were, by no means, lost or ineffectual; but as they had settled the Colony in perfect Quiet and Content, so they had raised at home so great a Fame of *Virginia*, that Men now, not only out of Necessity, as at first, but many Persons of good Quality and Fortune had, out of Choice, removed themselves thither, and were daily providing to remove:

THAT there had been granted, in the last four Years, forty four Patents for Land, for each of which the Patentees had undertaken to transport one hundred Men at the least; whereas, in the former twelve Years, there had not been granted above six:

THAT, in the said time, there had been employed forty two Ships, most of great Burthen (whereof seventeen Sail were, about *Christmas* last, in *James* River at once) whereas, in four Years before, there were not above twelve employed:

THAT, in the said four last Years, there had come in ten times the Number of Adventurers, as had done in twice the time before: So that, whereas before the legal Number of twenty could scarce be got together, to make a Quarter Court, it seldom now consisted of less than two hundred, and sometimes of many more:

THAT they could not omit the extraordinary Blessing of God, in exciting the Hearts of many zealous and devout Persons, to extend their Aid towards this glorious Work, who had contributed, within the four last Years, to the Value of fifteen hundred Pounds, for pious and religious Uses; a Fruit, whereof the preceeding Years were altogether barren:

THAT

THAT however it could not be denied, but that the Encreaſe and Proſperity of the Colony had lately received a fatal Blow and Interruption, by the *Indian* Maſſacre; and their Peace and Unity at home had been much broken and diſturbed, by divers troubleſome Oppoſitions. But the one, they hoped, would ſoon be ſharply puniſhed and revenged; and the other muſt, with Patience be borne, and overcome with Conſtancy. 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

AND laſtly, they concluded with beſeeching his Majeſty (as being the firſt Founder, and gracious Supporter of this great Enterpriſe, which would continue to all Poſterity a conſtant Monument of his glorious Name) to grant them the four hundred young Men, long ſince promiſed to be levied on the ſeveral Counties, in order to be ſent to *Virginia*, to root out the barbarous Enemy, and to ſupply the Colony, in Parts yet defective and unſettled; and they doubted not, in a ſhort time to be able, to yield him ſo good and ſo real an Account of the Fruit of their Cares and Labours, as might, in ſome ſort, be anſwerable to their Duty, and to his Majeſty's princely Expectation.

BESIDES this Declaration, the Lord *Cavendiſh* produced another Writing, containing a Vindication of the late Conduct of the *Virginia* and *Somer-Iſlands* Companies. His Lordſhip had drawn this up himſelf, for the Satisfaction of ſome very noble Perſons, who had, from ſiniſter Informations, conceived a hard Opinion of the Companies Proceedings; and as, he ſaid, thoſe Noblemen, upon reading that Diſcourſe, were fully ſatisfied of the Juſtice and Fairneſs of their Actions, ſo he hoped, it might work the like Effect upon his Majeſty's Mind. Whereupon that Writing was deliberately read, and every Article and Branch thereof, being duly weighed and conſidered, was ſeverally put to the Queſtion, and it was ordered to be delivered to his Majeſty, as the Company's Act and Anſwer; there being not above three Voices againſt any Part thereof, and moſt of them being confirmed and approved, by an unanimous Conſent. This long Diſcourſe contained three different Heads: Firſt, Anſwers to the ſeveral Objections againſt the Company's Proceedings: Secondly, the true Cauſes of the late Diſagreement and Diſturbances: And thirdly, it propoſed Remedies, for preventing the like Inconveniencies and Factions for the future.

I am ſenſible, that the long Detail of Declarations and Anſwers, is a moſt tedious and unpleaſant Part of Hiſtory to the common Reader; and I have obſerved, that ſuch Pieces, even in the Hands of our beſt Writers, and however neceſſary to clear up Points of Hiſtory, have nevertheleſs

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

leſs been much diſtaſted by ſeveral Perſons. But as theſe publick Papers contain the moſt authentic Reaſon and Account of things, and as they are the ſureſt and moſt indubitable Materials, for an Hiſtorian to proceed upon, I ſhall not be turned from my Courſe, by the accidental Diſlike of ſome Readers. For the Diſſolution of the Company now draws on, and I intend to give a full View of the Motives and Proceedings in that Affair; which can be from nothing drawn ſo well, as from the publick Acts and Writings of both Parties, and their outward Pretences at leaſt, and different Allegations. However, I eſteem it my Part and Duty, to ſave the Reader from all unneceſſary Forms and Repetitions; and to give him the Subſtance of thoſe original Acts and Records, in the ſhorteſt Manner I poſſibly can, without injuring or obſcuring their main Senſe and material Points. As for this Diſcourſe therefore, now preſented by Lord *Cavendiſh*, and adopted by the Company, it ſet forth: That it was manifeſt, his Majeſty's Ears had been abuſed by divers Miſinformations, to which they held it their Duty to give a true and juſtifiable Anſwer.

1. It was objected, that ſome few of the Company led and overſwayed the reſt; and that, in the particular Buſineſs of the Contract, theſe Perſons, aiming at their own private Advantage, eſpecially in the Point of Salaries, had therefore perſuaded and miſled the Court.

To this it was anſwered; that it was true, ſome particular Perſons, with great Labour and Pains, and without any Hope or Proſpect of Reward, had employed much of their Time and Endeavours, in ſtudying, what might tend to the Good and Benefit of the Colonies; and this only with the View, to propoſe and communicate to the Courts their faithful and impartial Advice; which was the Duty, and in the Power, of every Member of theſe Societies, to do. But that this honeſt Diligence, and theſe clear and diſintereſted Views, ſhould be interpreted an enſlaving or miſleading the Courts, was, in their Opinion, a moſt unjuſt Cenſure, and a hard Requital to thoſe Perſons, who, for the publick Good, had beſtowed ſo much of their Time, and neglected many Opportunities of private Gain.

And as to the Suppoſition, that theſe Men, in Reſpect of the Salaries, had miſguided the Courts in the Caſe of the Contract, they made his Majeſty a clear and faithful Narrative of their Proceedings in that Buſineſs; much the ſame in Effect as I have already related it. And they declared, that the Gentlemen, elected to the two great Salaries, againſt which the oppoſent Faction chiefly exclaimed, did, at ſundry times, both in publick and private, uſe all poſſi-

ble

ble Endeavour and Induſtry, to keep themſelves from being choſen: But that the Company's Experience of their Faithfulneſs and Ability, had cauſed them to be elected, and in a manner forced to thoſe Employments, againſt their Wills: And that they had ſince, in ſeveral Courts, as much as in them lay, ſurrendered their Offices; but their Reſignation would never be received or admitted by the Company. 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

2. It was objected, that the Courts were overawed, eſpecially in the Buſineſs of the Contract.

To which it was replied, that it was a ſtrange Boldneſs in any, eſpecially in any of the Company, who knew their Proceedings therein, to affirm a thing ſo manifeſtly falſe and groundleſs; which the Company were ſo perfectly convinced off, that this was one of the principal Cauſes, why Mr. *Wrote*, who firſt broached that Slander, was cenſured and ſuſpended. And they told his Majeſty, that this Point had been put to the Vote, often and in different Courts, when different Perſons were preſent, and it had always been unanimouſly adjudged a falſe and ſcandalous Imputation.

3. It was alledged, that theſe Perſons, when they could not carry Matters by Plurality of Voices, ſpun out the Courts 'till eleven o'Clock at Night; by which Means, thoſe, who would have oppoſed their Schemes, being overwearied with ſo long ſitting, departed.

THEY owned, that the Day, here meant, the Courts ſat 'till about ten o'Clock. But they gave his Majeſty the Reaſons of it: That many long Courts were to be read and examined; that Mr. *Wrote*'s Affair took up much Time; and that they were afterwards obliged, to enter upon ſeveral Points relating to the Contract, which muſt be then determined, or elſe deferred for above three Months, till the next Quarter Court; and that this would have been much to the Prejudice of that Buſineſs, as they daily expected the Arrival of a great Quantity of Tobacco. But as to what was chiefly inſinuated by this Objection, they declared it to be utterly falſe. For altho' ſome perhaps departed before the Riſing of the Court, yet not one of the opponent Party went away; and at the very laſt, when the Queſtion was put, there were, beſides divers Noblemen and Knights, about an hundred Perſons in the Court.

4. It was alledged, that whilſt the Contract was in Agitation, the Courts were purpoſely put off, for ſeven Weeks together; that ſome Planters who were ſhortly to go away, might not have Opportunity to complain againſt it.

THIS Objection they averred to be manifeſtly falſe and impoſſible. For the Contract, which could only be ratified in a Quarter Court, was concluded upon at their laſt Mid-

ſummer

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

ſummer Quarter Court, when all the old Planters, being about thirty in Number, were, or might have been in the Court; for none went away, till about eight Weeks after. Neither could it then be diſcovered, that any of them were diſcontented with it; but on the contrary, ſome argued very earneſtly for it. And beſides, it was untrue, that the Courts were at all put off ſo long. For altho', by the Orders of the Companies, there might be a Ceſſation of their Meetings, in the long Summer Vacation, when the Noblemen and Gentlemen of principal Figure and Conſequence were in the Country, unleſs there ſhould occur ſome extraordinary and preſſing Occaſion, yet the Courts met more frequently that Summer, than had been uſual at ſuch Times, by reaſon of ſending out ſeveral Ships, and with them the Company's Orders and Directions to the Colonies.

5. IT was confidently affirmed, that the *Virginia* Planters had petitioned his Majeſty, to bring all their Tobacco into *England*; and that this Petition was, by the Officers of the Company, ſuppreſſed.

IN Confutation of this, they referred to the original Petition itſelf, then in the Hands of the Lord High Treaſurer; and they ſaid, that no Man, that had ever ſeen that Petition, and had not a Mind wilfully to put Wrongs upon the Company, could ever ſcrew ſuch a Senſe out of it. They likewiſe gave his Majeſty an Account of the Occaſion of the Petition, and the Reaſon why it was not preſented; the ſame, that has been already given, in the foregoing Parts of this Hiſtory.

6. IT was objected, that no Buſineſs could be done in their Courts, by reaſon of Faction and Wrangling.

TO this they anſwered, that it was an odd thing, for Men to complain of that, wherein themſelves were principally faulty. Yet they denied this to be true, in ſo general and extenſive a Senſe; altho' it muſt be confeſſed, that ſome diſcontented Perſons, who had lately joined together to oppoſe the Contract, had long waited for all Occaſions, to raiſe Troubles and Contentions in the Companies; whoſe Faces, for ſeveral Years paſt, had never been ſeen in the Courts, except when they came to raiſe a Tempeſt and Diſturbance. However, they aſſured his Majeſty, that this Faction, when they had muſtered all their Forces, and ſent for their whole Strength out of the Country, amounted to but twenty ſix Perſons; whereas the *Virginia* Company, in particular, conſiſted of about a thouſand Adventurers, and oftentimes two hundred, or more, were aſſembled at once. So that this Objection of Faction and Wrangling muſt neceſſarily return back and reflect on themſelves; as

in all well-governed Societies, the major Part was ever understood to involve the Consent of the minor, which, by making Opposition and Clamour, did undoubtedly thereby render themselves the factious Party. 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

7. IT was objected, that the Government of the Companies, as it then stood, was democratical and tumultuous, and ought therefore to be altered, and reduced into the Hands of a Few.——And this was properly *argumentum ad hominem*, and very weighty in the Eyes of that Prince; who had a noted Aversion to all republican Forms of Government, and was, in Truth, for a Monarchy, in the strictest and highest Sense of the Word.

HOWEVER, the Company replied, that as to the Tumultuousness objected, it was already answered in the former Article of Faction, and plainly appeared to proceed only from themselves. And as to the Democracy, they said, that the Government of the Companies was no other, than what was prescribed in his Majesty's Letters-patent; and it was a bold Censure, thus to tax a Government, ordained and constituted by such an Authority. But yet they denied this Allegation to be just, or that their Government was properly democratical. For the Companies had not supreme Authority over the People of the Plantations, but governed them by an Authority derived from the King, according to his Laws, and were accountable to his Majesty for their Conduct; and therefore that Government could not properly be termed democratical, where the King was supreme, and where the People swore Allegiance only to him. And they added farther, that the Companies were so far from having supreme Power over the People of the Colonies, that when any Man had committed Offences, of what high Nature so ever (as lately appeared by two notorious Instances) if they could escape Punishment in the Plantations, where the Companies had Power, by his Majesty's Letters-patent, to call them to Trial and Account, they might, there in *England*, outface the Companies (as those two did) and they could have no Means of Redress, but by appealing to higher Justice.

HOWEVER, they owned, that, according to his Majesty's Institution, their Government had some Shew of a democratical Form; which was nevertheless, in that Case, the most just and profitable, and most conducive to the Ends and Effect aimed at thereby. For those Plantations, tho' much furthered by his Majesty's Grace, were yet chiefly founded by the Purses of private Men; who would never have adventured their Fortunes in such an Enterprise, if, in the Regulation and Government of the Business, their own

Votes

1623. Votes and Opinions had not been admitted. Besides which, such infant Undertakings often called for large and speedy Supplies, which could not be sent, but by the Purses of many Men; who, had their Voices been excluded, and the Management committed to a Few, would not perhaps have been over-forward and hasty in contributing towards their Relief.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

LASTLY, they observed, that the opponent Faction cried out loudly against Democracy, and yet called for Oligarchy; which would, as they conceived, make the Government neither of better Form, nor more monarchial. But they however hereby discovered their Aim and Desire, which was to draw all things into their own Hands and Power, as had been sufficiently manifested before, by some of their late Steps and Actions.

HAVING thus given Answers to the most material Scandals against the Companies, they next proceeded, to inform his Majesty of the true Causes, tho' disguised, why these twenty six, by their secret Whisperings and Insinuations, and by their continual under-hand Practices, so much laboured, to disgrace the Government of the Companies, and in Effect, to bring the Plantations to utter Ruin. And they assured his Majesty, that, whatever Imputations they might lay on the Companies behind their Backs, they never yet had the Confidence, openly to avow and maintain them in their Courts, but always qualified them with such Distinctions and Equivocations, as amounted to a flat Denial of what they had said. And

1. THE first Cause of these Mens Malice, was the ill Affection of the old Officers; out of whose Hands (the Colonies having not prospered under them) the Government was necessarily taken; and their Prosperity since, implying the evident Benefit of that Removal, and a manifest Proof of their ill Government, it had so offended them, that they endeavoured, the better to cover that Fault, by publick Disturbances, and private Practice and Confederation, to interrupt the present Prosperity of the Colonies, and to blemish the Reputation, and disturb the Peace of the Companies: And that, to this End, they had not forborn to set to their Hands in Attestation of most false and scandalous Petitions; frequently to lay Imputations themselves on the Courts; sometimes to procure Complaints from others against them; and at all times to yield a publick Encouragement and Protection to such Persons, as had done Wrong, or were declared Enemies, to the Companies.

2. THE second Cause was, that the principal of those Citizens, and some others, who had wove themselves into the

the Oppoſition, were for the moſt Part ſuch, as had formerly borne Office, either in the Companies, or the Plantations; who having not cleared their many Accounts (ſome of which were very ſuſpicious) and being preſſed by the Companies, uſed all the Art, that Malice could invent, to do Prejudice, and give Diſturbance, to the preſent Government; hoping, by that means to ſhroud themſelves from a due Examination, and ſo, in the Storm and Confuſion, to go off, unconvicted and unpuniſhed. 1622 Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

3. SOME others of theſe Opponents, of a different Rank and Quality, had either been concerned in ſpoiling and fleecing the Plantations, and in ſetting forth a piratical Ship, called the *Treaſurer*; or elſe had abetted and protected thoſe, who had done it, with ſuch Violence, as was greatly to the Offence, Scandal, and Wrong of the Company. But their Ends not fully anſwering their Expectations, they had therefore abandoned the *Virginia* Courts, except when they came to raiſe Troubles and Diſſentions, in order, by that means, to keep the Company from calling thoſe Offences into Queſtion.

4. MOST of the Twenty-ſix were involved in ſome, or all theſe Cauſes of Diſſenſion; and the few that remained, were either Servants to, or had neceſſary Dependency upon, ſome of the reſt.

LASTLY, they went on to propoſe ſome Remedies, to prevent the like Inconveniences and Diſturbances for the future. Since therefore theſe Colonies were chiefly ſettled, for the Honour of his Majeſty's Times, in propagating the *Chriſtian* Religion in thoſe barbarous Parts; for the Enlargement of his Dominions; for the Encreaſe of his Revenue; for the enriching his People; and for the future Strength and Ornament of the Kingdom of *England*; they beſought his Majeſty, to give Countenance and Encouragement to their Labours; to believe well of the Companies, and not give too ready a Credit to the malicious and pre-concerted Informations of ſome of their Members; and to grant them ſome ſuch preſent Teſtimony of his good Opinion, and gracious Acceptance of their Endeavours, by Letter or otherwiſe, as might do Honour to the Company, and ſtrengthen their Authority. And this they were the rather induced to hope, as the late great Breach in the Companies had been occaſioned, by their Forwardneſs and Deſire, to advance his Majeſty's Profit and Revenue by the Contract. And they farther beſought his Majeſty, to be graciouſly pleaſed to declare his Intention, that, in all Buſineſs of the Courts for the future, they ſhould be left freely to govern themſelves, by their Charters and Laws; and withal, to give

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

present Order to the Lords of the Privy Council, that, if there should be any such private Conspiracy, Confederation, or Opposition, as the Companies themselves could neither remedy nor punish, to afford them their Help and Assistance, in the Remedy and Punishment of the same. And lastly they prayed, that for such, as had been accused of heinous Crimes, committed in the Plantations, and had thence escaped, and then braved the Companies in *England*, his Majesty would be graciously pleased, to extend his Power, and send them back to the Plantations, there to receive their just and legal Trials. And by these Assistances, the Companies would be enabled, chearfully to proceed, and in short time so to advance those great and noble Undertakings, as would give his Majesty full Content, and just Cause to believe, that these his Favours had been well bestowed, and rightly used.

THE Earl of *Southampton* was not present, when these things passed; and as he was obnoxious at Court, and had received some ill Usage from it, it may be surmised, that he kept out of the Way purposely, to avoid being farther embroiled. But it is, I think, much more agreeable to the Character of that worthy and patriot Nobleman, to suppose, that he did not desert his Station in such a Manner, but was absent on other just and necessary Occasions. In his Absence therefore, these two Papers (together with a Petition to his Majesty, to refer the Hearing of the Complaints of Alderman *Johnson* and his Associates, to the Body of his most Honourable Privy Council) were committed to Lord *Cavendish*, Lord *Delawarr*, Sir *Edward Sackvil*, Sir *John Brooke*, and Colonel *Ogle*, to take the first proper Opportunity to present them to his Majesty, and to make Choice of such others of the Company, as they thought fit, to attend them.

THIS Court also, at Mr. Deputy *Farrar*'s Motion, conferred the Freedom of the Company on *Carew Raleigh* Esq; the only surviving Son of Sir *Walter*. He had gone, after his Father's Death, a Gentleman Commoner, to *Wadham* College, in *Oxford*; where he continued his Studies, about five Years. About this time, being yet scarce twenty Years of Age, he came up to *London*, and went to Court; hoping by the Favour of *William*, Earl of *Pembroke*, his noble Kinsman, to obtain some Redress, in the Hardships and Wrongs done him. But the King did not like his Countenance there; and said, that he appeared in his Court, like his Father's Ghost. Wherefore, by the Earl's Advice, he removed himself from his Majesty's Sight, and went upon his Travels, till a more favourable Conjuncture should offer.

offer. But however fixed this Monarch might be in his Antipathy, and however ſteady and conſtant in doing an eternal Diſhonour to his own Judgment and Fame, by diſgracing and depreſſing every thing that had Relation to this Great Man, the *Virginia* Company ſeems to have had a quite different Notion of things. For they willingly embraced the Pretence, of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s being the firſt Diſcoverer of *Virginia*, to teſtify their Reſpect to his Memory and Merit, by conferring extraordinarily, upon his Son, the Freedom of the Company, and a Voice in their Courts. And he accordingly appears at their Courts, commonly ranked with the Knights, till *June* the next Year, at which time, it may be ſuppoſed, he went on his Travels. 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

SOON after this, authentic Copies of Alderman *Johnſon*'s Petition and Captain *Butler*'s Information were, by ſome Perſon, ſent to the Company; which being publickly and diſtinctly read, the Court was informed by Perſons of Worth, that this Report, in particular, of the Unhealthineſs of the Country, and of the Colony's being ſeated among Bogs and Marſhes, having been induſtriouſly ſpread by Captain *Butler* and his Aſſociates, not only over all Parts of the City, but likewiſe into divers Parts of the Country, was likely to ſtop many hundreds of People, who were preparing to tranſport themſelves thither; and that it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary, to make an immediate Enquiry about that Matter. Whereupon ſome, then preſent, who had been long and often in *Virginia*, affirmed upon their certain Knowledge, that, at all the Plantations on the main River, they might land, with Boats drawing three Foot Water, from half Flood to half Ebb, ſafe and dry, without wetting their Foot; and that they had found, by their own Experience, the Air to be as wholeſome, and the Soil for the moſt part, as fertile, as in any Part of *England*, or of any other Country, where they had been. But the better to obviate the ill Conſequences and Calumnies of Captain *Butler*'s Information, an Anſwer was drawn up in Writing againſt the next Meeting of the Company, and ſubſcribed by the Rev. Mr. *William Meaſe*, a Miniſter, who had lived ten Years in *Virginia*; by one Mr. *John Proctor*, a Man of good Sort, who had lived there fourteen Years; and by fourteen others, Maſters of Ships, Mariners, and Inhabitants, who had been and lived, ſome more and ſome leſs, in the Country, and were perfectly acquainted with the River, and all Parts of the Colony. This Anſwer, which they declared themſelves ready to juſtify upon Oath, contained a flat Denial and Diſproof of

1623. the seven first Articles of *Butler*'s Information. As to the three last, they left them to be answered by the Governor and Company, as relating immediately to themselves, and containing things, either above their Determination, or out of their Knowledge. And as this Writing contained the Testimony of Eye-witnesses to Matters of Fact, it agreed so exactly in Substance with an Answer, afterwards returned from *Virginia* by the Governor and General Assembly, that I shall not detain the Reader, at present, with an Abstract of it, but shall refer to that more authentic Testimony of the whole Body of the Colony, which will be hereafter recited, in it's proper Time and Place.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

BUT besides this Disproof of Captain *Butler*'s Information, the farther to detect and expose his malicious Designs and unfair Proceedings, two Papers were produced in Court, and admitted to Record, under the Hands of *John Severne*, Masters-mate, and *John Lowe*, Boatswain, of the *James*. In these they affirmed, that coming, one Morning, to Captain *Nathaniel Butler*, about some Business, the said Captain brought a Writing in his Hand, and began to read some Part of it; telling them, he had been with the King, and protesting, the Writing was for the Good of the Country. Whereupon they, being in great Haste, having heard a few Lines only read, and not attending much to the Matter, and besides conceiving Captain *Butler* to be a very honest Man, did readily set their Hands to the said Writing. But having since understood, that it was in Disgrace and Disparagement of the Country, they, the said *John Severne* and *John Lowe*, did thereby disavow the said Writing, as false and unjust; and farther protested, that, upon their Oaths, they must declare the contrary. And all these Proofs of his wilful Malice and Injustice did Captain *Butler* sit in the Court and hear, and calmly demanded a Copy of the Answer to his Information.

BUT as his Majesty intended, in Compliance with the Petitions of both Alderman *Johnson* and the Company, to appoint Commissioners to enquire into all these Matters and Allegations, the Court thought it proper, to prepare betimes to make their Defence. To this End, as the Company consisted of many Members of both Houses of Parliament, they were naturally led to the Parliamentary Methods of proceeding, and resolved themselves into a grand Committee of the whole Company, which had Power, to substitute and ordain other Sub-Committees, for expediting Matters; that so the Business, being parted among many Hands, might be the more speedily and better accomplished. And now having Copies of Alderman *Johnson*'s and Captain

tain *Butler*'s Complaints, they soon after drew up direct and particular Answers to them both. 1623.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

In Answer to Alderman *Johnson*'s Petition, they observed, that it was founded upon three main Allegations: First, that the former Government, under Sir *Thomas Smith*, as Treasurer, and Mr. *Canning* and himself, as Deputy-Treasurers, was mild and discreet; whereby all Sorts of Persons were induced to engage themselves in that great and difficult Action, which thence proceeded in a most hopeful Way, and with Peace and Concord; whereas it had of late come to pass, that their Love and Unity at home were turned into civil Discord and Dissension; and that divers of the ancient Adventurers and Planters conceived themselves, to be many ways injured, abused and oppressed.

To this they replied: That as to the Government at home in those times, all his Majesty's particular Instructions therein were clean suppressed and extinguished, and the Originals no longer extant; and that there were no Orders made for the Government of the Company, except now and then one, upon present Occasion. And as to the Government abroad in the Colony, it was, for the most part, left absolutely to the Governor's Will and Pleasure; only instead of a Body of moderate Laws, agreeable to the Constitution and Government of *England*, there was printed at home, and with great Honour dedicated to Sir *Thomas Smith*, and afterwards by him sent to *Virginia*, by his own Authority, and without the Company's Order or Consent, a Book of most truculent Laws, written in Blood; which, altho' they might serve for Martial Government in time of War, being translated most of them from the Martial Laws of the United Provinces, yet were absolutely destructive of all the native Rights and Liberties of *English* Subjects, and very far from deserving the Name of a mild Government, here given it by the Petitioners: And that, for this Cause, People in *England* were deterred from going over in Person, to live there under such bloody and tyrannical Laws, and many of his Majesty's Subjects in *Virginia* were put to most unjust and undeserved Deaths. But most especially, such a Weapon was hereby put into the Hands of one of the Governors, a Kinsman of Sir *Thomas Smith*, that he, in a manner, spoiled and destroyed the whole Colony, as was still extant and to be seen, in the Letters of Sir *Thomas Smith* himself and Alderman *Johnson*.

That the Consequence of this Misgovernment was, that the Colony was wasted to a few hundreds of People, who had nevertheless no Intent to proceed in the Plan-

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

tation, but being deſtitute of Food, both ſpiritual and temporal, cried out loudly againſt the Company, for Injuſtice and Cruelty; being ſome times, in Deſpair, all ſhipped to return, and at other times, in Revenge, adopting to themſelves new Patrons and Defenders againſt their bad Government. And that Adventurers at home did indeed, at firſt, come plentifully in, as to a new Thing; but that, at laſt, they abandoned the Courts, and refuſed to pay their Monies ſubſcribed; for which being ſued, they pleaded in Chancery, upon their Oaths, that the Monies were not converted to the Uſe intended, but to particular Men's Gains; and that no Accounts were kept, or were at leaſt to be ſeen. But on the contrary, they ſaid, what Reformations had been made, and what Meaſures taken, in Point of Government, for the four laſt Years, might be apparent to all Men; and that their Labours herein had given ſuch Satisfaction to the Plantations, that the Colony of *Virginia* had, in particular, by a publick Act in their General Aſſembly, returned Thanks to the Company, for their great Love, Juſtice, and Care.

As for Diſcord and Diſſenſion, they acknowledged, within the Compaſs of the four laſt Years, there had been ſome great Rents made in the Council and Company; but that theſe proceeded wholly from the Alderman and his Party, the greateſt Number of whom were ſeldom ſeen in their Courts, but when they came to raiſe, or to nouriſh, this very Diſcord and Faction, they here complained of. And as to the Wrongs and Oppreſſion of the ancient Adventurers and Planters, they challenged him to ſhew, that the Juſtice, which it was in the Company's Power to give, had ever been denied to any Man whatſoever; much leſs had the Goods of ſome particular Perſons in the Colonies, by private Directions and underhand Letters, been taken violently from them, contrary to all Juſtice and due Courſe of Law, and conſigned into the Hands of their potent Adverſaries in *England*; as was notoriouſly done, in the Caſe of Captain *Miles Kendal*, formerly Governor of *Bermudas*, who was ſpoiled by Captain *Butler*, his Succeſſor, of fourteen Negroes, granted him by a *Dutch* Captain, under a falſe and groundleſs Pretence, that they belonged to their piratical Ship, the *Treaſurer*.

THE ſecond Allegation of Alderman *Johnſon*'s Petition was: That, under the former Government, they had Peace with the *Indians*, by which means ſundry of thoſe Infidels, and ſome of eminent Rank, were converted to the *Chriſtian* Religion; whereas, of late, there had been a Maſſacre and Hoſtility between the Natives and the Colony of *Virginia*.

IN

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

IN Anſwer to this, they denied, that except *Pocahontas* (whom they here call *Matoax*) there had happened any thing of Note in the Converſion of thoſe Infidels, under Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Adminiſtration. And they farther affirmed, that, during his time, the *Engliſh* were almoſt in a continual War and Hoſtility with the *Indians*; and that, in particular, Captain *Argall* came away, in the laſt Part of that time, and left unpuniſhed the Murder of ten of the *Engliſh*, by a Party of the *Chickahominies*. But on the contrary, how great, and what chargeable Attempts, had been made, within the laſt four Years, for the Converſion and Education of thoſe Infidels, was ſufficiently evident, from the Plantation for the College; on which, notwithſtanding the late Maſſacre, they conceived, there were yet remaining ſixty Tenants, or thereabouts. And the Company had indeed, in their firſt Letter after the Knowledge of the Maſſacre, propoſed Methods, and given ſtrict Orders, to the Governor and Council, for the Renewal of the College, and Reſettlement of it's Lands; but Means being wanting, the Governor and Council could do nothing in it to Effect. However they promiſed, that that pious Work ſhould, by the Divine Aſſiſtance, again proceed, in due time. And as to the Hoſtility with the *Indians*, they declared, there had been none, within the four laſt Years, before the late treacherous and bloody Maſſacre; which had it not happened, theſe Maligners muſt have been mute, and would have had nothing to alledge to the Diſgrace of the Company and Plantation.

THE third Allegation of the Alderman's Petition was: That, in the firſt twelve Years, divers Staple-Commodities began to be raiſed and imported into *England*; whereas, of late Years, the aforeſaid Commodities did not appear.

THEY replied, that this Objection reflected ſtrongly on the Objector himſelf. They owned, that ſome Samples of thoſe Commodities had been, by the Induſtry of Sir *Thomas Dale*, ſent home, in the ninth and tenth Years of the firſt twelve; but that none had appeared, in the two laſt, under the Government of Captain *Argall*. The Reaſon of which was, that the Magazine being then on foot, whereof the Alderman was Director, it pleaſed him, to ſet no Price upon any other Commodity, except Tobacco and Saſſafras, being Commodities of his own Trade, and for the greateſt Part whereof he himſelf became the Company's Chapman; and that, by this means, all Endeavours for thoſe other Commodities were abandoned, and the Colony poſſeſſed with that doating Affection for Tobacco, which the Company had not ſince, with all their Care, been able to ex-

1623. tinguish. And they then proceeded, to recount their late Endeavours for raising divers Commodities; which had indeed lately received a sore Interruption from the Massacre, but it was their Intent and Resolution, shortly again to restore and set them up.

Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Sir *William Throckmorton*, Captain *Vernor*.

As for that Pretence, that the Petition aimed at no other End, but that after the Work of some necessary Reformation, the Work of the Plantations might be again renewed and prosper; they said, they were obliged, therein to detect the Alderman's unclear Proceedings. For it should be justified against him, by undeniable Proof: That he had laboured of late, by strange and false Allegations, to discourage some Persons of Eminence and Fortune, from favouring or proceeding in the Enterprise: That he had brow-beaten and found Fault with such, as had commended the Country, so much extolled formerly by himself, in sundry printed Treatises; and had declared, that the World had been cheated and deluded by *Virginia*: That he had said, there were too many of the *English* Nation there already; that the Staple-Commodities, spoken of, would come to nothing; that the Iron was base, and not worth the Freight; the Grapes sour, and the Climate improper for Wine; that the Mulberry Trees had a Prickle in them, which destroyed the Silk-worms, when they came to any Bigness; and that the Conversion of the Infidels was a vain and impossible Attempt, they being descended of the cursed Race of *Ham*. And now, whether a Person of this Malice and Virulency of Disposition was a proper Instrument to work out the Good of the Colonies, they left to the Judgment of all clear and impartial Minds.

LASTLY, touching the Issue of the Petition, that all Abuses might be examined and reformed, the Company declared, they willingly concurred with the Petitioners therein, but could not forbear remarking their too evident Partiality. For they desired only, that the Accounts since Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Time might be examined, which had always been fairly kept, and legally audited, according to the Orders of the Court, (except by one only of the Petitioner's Society) and yet they passed the Accounts of the former Years over in Silence, which were nevertheless three times as large, and thrice three times more questionable.

IN their Answer to Captain *Butler*'s Information, they recited, that the seven first Articles had been answered by sixteen Eye-witnesses of the Matters alledged, Men of unquestionable Character and Veracity, who were ready, at any time, to justify the same upon their Oaths. They therefore referred to that, as being the highest and most unex-

unexceptionable Evidence, that could be had in such a Case; and they proceeded themselves, to give Answers to the three last Articles. But as the Answer, afterwards returned from *Virginia* by the Governor and General Assembly, was much the same in Purport with this, I shall still, to avoid all tedious and needless Repetition, refer to that, hereafter to be given. But as to *Butler*'s last Clause, of the Confusions and private Ends of some of the Company in *England*, and of the bad Execution of their Agents in *Virginia*, they besought his Majesty, that he might not be permitted to wander in such general and indeterminate Accusations, which only tended to Slander and Defamation, but might be obliged to make an express and particular Discovery of those Persons and Measures before the Commissioners, that were soon to be appointed. And in the mean while, they protested against it, as calumnious and unjust, and of the self-same Truth with the rest of his Informations. 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

MR. *Berblock* also desired, that a short Passage, out of one of Sir *Thomas Dale*'s Letters to Sir *Thomas Smith*, might be read; which he had accidentally happened upon, in perusing the Company's Books, by Order of the Court. This was dated in *June* 1613, and has been already mentioned and extracted. In it, he desires them not to be gulled by the clamorous Reports of base People, but to believe *Caleb* and *Joshua*, and gives a very great and lavish Commendation of the Country; which Mr. *John Smith* declared to agree exactly, with what he, and divers other Persons of Worth, had heard from his own Mouth in *England*; and Mr. *Copeland* affirmed, that Sir *Thomas Dale* had told him the same in Effect, at *Japan* in the *East-Indies*. There was also read Part of a Letter from Sir *Samuel Argall* to the Company, dated in *July* 1617, highly commending the Healthiness and Conveniency of *James-Town*. To these was added, at the Lord *Cavendish*'s Motion, a long Declaration, by his Majesty's Council for *Virginia*, and the principal Assistants for the *Somer-Islands*; in which, they plainly, and without Disguise or Palliation, laid open the whole Scene of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Proceedings, with the iniquitous Practices of himself and his Faction, but most especially of his too grand Instruments of Rapine, Sir *Samuel Argall* and Captain *Butler*. This long and particular Relation has been of singular Service, and given great Light, in the fuller Detection of their fraudulent Arts and Management; but as it contains nothing materially different from the foregoing Relation of their Proceedings, I shall ease both myself and the Reader from the Trouble of an Abstract.

ALL

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

ALL these publick Acts, Declarations, and Testimonials were laid before his Majesty, the Lords of the Privy Council, and the Commissioners. For, two Days after this, on the 9th of *May*, a Commission issued, under the Great Seal of *England*, to Sir *William Jones*, Knight, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, Sir *Nicholas Fortescue*, Sir *Francis Gofton*, Sir *Richard Sutton*, Sir *William Pit*, Sir *Henry Bourchier*, and Sir *Henry Spilman*, Knights, or any four of them, to examine and enquire into all Matters and Businesses, any ways relating or appertaining to the Plantations of *Virginia* and the *Somer-Islands*. Altho' the Points, to be enquired into, ran very much, in this Commission, according to the general Heads, and even the very Words, of the latter Part of Alderman *Johnson*'s Petition, yet the Lords of the Privy Council had the Alderman's Partiality reformed, and their Enquiry was not confined to the four last Years, but extended to all Acts and Things, from the first Incorporation of the Companies, and Settlement of the Colonies. Who these Commissioners were, and what were their real Characters and Conduct through Life, I cannot say. I only find, that *Cambden*, in his Annals for the Year 1619, briefly mentions *Fortescue*, *Gofton*, *Sutton*, and *Pit*, late Commissioners for the Navy, and for Domestick Affairs, to be then knighted.

FROM this time, all Letters from the Colonies, both publick and private, were intercepted by his Majesty's Command; in order to surprise, and find out, any secret Combinations and underhand Practices of the Companies, or their Officers. All their Books and Records were likewise sequestered, by an Order of the Privy Council; and both the Mr. *Farrars*, the Deputy-Treasurers to the two Companies, were laid under Arrest, and confined. I cannot discover, by what Colour or Pretence this was done; but it was a great Interruption, in preparing the Company's Business, which was to be laid before the Commissioners. For their Defence depended entirely on their Books and Records, from which, they doubted not, to make their Innocency abundantly appear. And they were so sensible of the Prejudice, that would arise to the Companies, by their Deputies Restraint, who were their greatest Accomptants, and by reason of their Places, the most conversant of all others in the Business of late Years, that they petitioned the Privy Council, so far at least to set them at Liberty, that they might be able to go forward with the Company's Business, and attend the Commissioners. And their Books were accordingly soon after restored, and the Deputies released.

But

1623.

BUT from theſe, and other diſcouraging Circumſtances, it was an eaſy Matter to conjecture, what was aimed at, and how things were going. And therefore the great Officers of the Company, the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and the two *Farrars*, through whoſe Hands all the Company's Buſineſs and Money had of late Years paſſed, ſued out their general Acquittances in the Court. And as their Accounts had undergone the Examination of the Company's Auditors, and had laid, all their legal time, and ſome much longer, open in the Courts, for any Perſon to examine, and make Exceptions againſt them, their Diſcharges were granted, under the legal Seal, by a chearful and unanimous Concurrence of the whole Company. The Proportions of Land, formerly granted, were alſo confirmed to them in the ſtrongeſt Manner, and Mr. *John Farrar* had the beſt Security, they could give him, for three hundred and twenty Pounds, which he had taken up at Intereſt, for the Uſe, and by the Order of the Company; all their Effects from *Virginia* being ordered, to be conſigned into his and his Brother *Nicholas Farrar*'s Hands (who was likewiſe ſoon after found to be about eighty Pounds in Advance for the Company) till their Ballances, with all other Damages incident thereto, were diſcharged.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

IN Conſideration of the ill Conſequences, of having continued Sir *Thomas Smith* ſo many Years in the Place of Treaſurer, the Company had made it a ſtanding Rule and Order, that no Perſon, after that, ſhould hold the Place of Treaſurer or Deputy, above three Years together. The Earl of *Southampton*'s three Years being therefore now expired, Lord *Cavendiſh* and Lord *Paget* were named, to ſtand in Election to ſucceed him. The King had always been endeavouring, to get ſuch a Perſon choſen into that Place of chief Government, as ſhould be perfectly ſubmiſſive to his Pleaſure and Command. And now, on the Day of Election, the Court received a Letter from his Majeſty, ſignifying; That he had appointed Commiſſioners, to examine into the preſent State of the Colony of *Virginia*; and as he expected to receive, within a few Days, ſome Account of their Labours therein, it was his Will and Pleaſure, that all Officers ſhould continue, as they were; and that they ſhould not proceed to any new Election, before the Morrow fortnight after, at the ſooneſt. This unexpected Order, and myſterious Reaſon, cauſed a long and general Silence in the Court. But at length, conſidering, that they were reſtrained, by their Charters, to Quarter Courts only for the Election of Officers; and that, all Offices expiring that Day, their Government would become void,

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

void, and their Patents forfeited, unleſs ſomething was done therein, they continued all Officers in their Places, not a Fortnight longer, but 'till the next Quarter Court, when only Election could legally be made. And thus, the King never after having expreſſed his Pleaſure herein, and the Company, to avoid Miſconſtruction, forbearing to do any thing, 'till his Majeſty's Pleaſure was farther known, the Earl of *Southampton* and Mr. *Nicholas Farrar* were, from time to time, continued in their Places, 'till the Suppreſſion of the Courts and Diſſolution of the Company.

In ſome of the intercepted Letters from *Virginia*, the Lords of the Privy Council found great Complaints of the Scarcity of Proviſions. This had been occaſioned by the Maſſacre, and the conſequent War with the *Indians*; by which much of their Corn and Stocks had been deſtroyed, and a general Interruption given to the Culture of their Lands. Their Lordſhips therefore called the Deputy, and a few more of the Company, before them; and acquainting them therewith, commanded them, to ſend an immediate Relief to the Colony. And they propoſed, that the whole Company ſhould be obliged to contribute their Parts towards it, according to the Number of each Man's Shares, by rating them at twenty, or at leaſt ten Shillings, a Share; and that they ſhould be compelled to pay the ſame, by an Order of that Board. But Mr. *Farrar* and his Aſſociates ſeem, not to have been perfectly convinced of the Legality of ſuch a Proceeding; and conceived themſelves to have no Power by Law, to lay ſuch a general Aſſeſſment on the Company, without their Conſent. Wherefore, after much Debate, they prevailed on their Lordſhips, to permit them to proceed, in their uſual Method of voluntary Subſcriptions. And as the opponent Faction had been loud before the Lords of the Council, and preſſed much the ſending a ſpeedy Supply, thereby endeavouring to inſinuate and reflect on the Negligence and ſiniſter Views of the Company, a Roll of Subſcription was prepared purpoſely, and preſented to them, to ſubſcribe by themſelves; and Sir *Edward Sackvil* earneſtly entreated them, to be liberal and exemplary in their Contributions, ſince they had expreſſed, before the Council, ſo tender a Senſe of the diſtreſſed State of the Colony. But they had the Confidence to withſtand ſo ſtrong a Snare; and the Colony was obliged to the other Side for the Supply, as I find intimated, in a Letter from Mr. Deputy *Farrar*, ſent at the ſame time, in the Name of the Council and Company. However, it was not of that vaſt Uſe and Relief, as was imagined or pretended. For, as the Deputy and Company had judged, the Colony had gathered in their Corn, before it could poſſibly arrive.

But

1623.

BUT notwithſtanding theſe lowering Proſpects, and this unpromiſing Aſpect of their Affairs, the Company proceeded chearfully and boldly in their Defence. And therefore, as ſoon as the Commiſſioners were known, they deputed Sir *Edward Sackvil*, Sir *Robert Killigrew*, and Sir *John Davers*, to wait upon them, in the Company's Name; and to declare their Joy and Satisfaction, in the Commiſſion's being iſſued. And they very earneſtly and unanimouſly beſought them, to take into their immediate Conſideration Captain *Butler*'s Information to his Majeſty, entitled; *The unmaſked Face of the Colony in* Virginia; which had given a deadly Wound to the happy Progreſs and Proſperity of that Plantation. So that until, by their Wiſdom and Integrity, the Truth ſhould be diſcovered, and the World again poſſeſſed with their former Hopes and good Opinion of that Colony, it muſt undoubtedly languiſh, if not ſhortly periſh, for Want of thoſe daily Supplies, which its Reputation alone had before raiſed, in great Abundance. But I do not find, that the Commiſſioners took the leaſt Notice, or did any thing in Conſequence, of this juſt and reaſonable Requeſt; altho' the Company urged it often, as a Point of great Importance, which required an immediate Examination and Diſpatch. But ſoon after, they iſſued their Warrant to Mr. *Collingwood*, the Secretary, and to all other the Clerks and Officers of the *Virginia* Company, to bring before them, to the Queſt-Houſe, adjoining to St. *Andrew*'s Church in *Holborn*, all and ſingular Letters-patent, Proclamations, Commiſſions, Warrants, Records, Orders, Books, Accounts, Entries, and all other Notes and Writings whatſoever, in their Cuſtody. Hereupon the Company appointed a Committee, conſiſting of Sir *Robert Killigrew*, Sir *John Davers*, Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Tomlyns*, Mr. *White*, Mr. *Withers*, Mr. *Bland*, Mr. *Barber*, and Mr. *Berblock*, who ſhould all, or any three of them, with the Secretary, attend the Commiſſioners, from time to time, with the Letters-patent, Books of Accompt, and other Writings. But they charged them, at every Riſing of the Commiſſioners, to bring back the original Letters-patent, and to leave with them only a Copy; which, they hoped and conceived, would be ſufficient. The Commiſſioners were likewiſe deſired, in the Company's Name, to reſpite the Delivery of their Books of Account, 'till their Accomptant had taken Copies of them; when they were, together with all other Writings and Records, delivered into their Hands, and never afterwards returned to the Company.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

WHILST the Company urged to the Commiſſioners an immediate Enquiry into the Truth of Captain *Butler*'s Allegation,

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

legations, they, at the same time, recommended to their View and Perusal, as a thing relative to that Affair, the Declaration of the Council for *Virginia* and of the principal Amitants of the *Somer-Islands* Company, which hath been before mentioned, and which charged, in a home and open Manner, the Earl of *Warwick* and his Faction, but particularly Sir *Samuel Argall* and Captain *Butler*, with many illegal and oppressive Practices. This, I presume, gave Occasion to a Letter, which the Company soon after received from the King; wherein he utterly forbids, that any Complaints should be brought before the Commissioners against any Man, in the Name of the Council or Company, because that Course only tended to Defamation, and to raise more Contention; and because to bring Matters, determined by the Council or Company, before the Commissioners, was to preoccupate the Commissioners Judgments, or else to oppose the Act and Opinion of the Council and Company, to the Act and Opinion of the Commissioners. It was therefore his express Pleasure and Command, that whosoever would exhibit Complaints against any Man, either for publick Wrong to the Company, or for private Injuries to himself, he should bring the same in Writing, subscribed with his Name, to the Commissioners, who should receive the Answer thereto in Writing, and thereupon proceed, as they should see Cause.

WHAT was the End or Design of such an Order is not easily conceived, I think; unless it was to prevent the Company from acting with that Unanimity and Agreement, which it plainly appeared, they would, and which, in the Eyes of all impartial Men, would give the greater Weight and Authority to their Proceedings. And where the Justice was, or Legality, of forbidding the Company to prosecute *for publick Wrong to themselves*, as a Body corporate, and to leave it only to private Men, who could not legally do it, without being first authorised and impowered by the Company (and then it became their Act and Deed) is to me equally mysterious and inconceiveable. I am unwilling to make hard and uncharitable Interpretations; but this whole Affair of the Commissioners appears to have very little of the Face of Justice, but seems to have been set on Foot for quite different Ends and Purposes.

BUT besides this, that Letter contained another express Command; That no Man, of what Degree or Quality soever, should be admitted to their Courts or Committees, who, besides his Freedom and Land, had not some Men then, or lately before, planted upon his Shares; or that was not, at that time, actually engaged in, and according-

ly

ly purſued, the ſending of Men or Supplies over. And he farther ordered, if any other preſumed to be preſent at their Meetings, that they ſhould be proceeded againſt, as factious and ſeditious Perſons. This was likewiſe a manifeſt Infringement of their Charters, which had ſpecified the different Ways, by which Men ſhould become free, and act as Members of the Company. Being therefore much ſtaggered and ſurpriſed at both theſe Points, they reſolved to hold no more Courts, 'till the King's Pleaſure was farther underſtood. To this End, they preſented a Petition to his Majeſty; in Anſwer to which, he, in effect, took off and reverſed thoſe two Prohibitions and Commands. After which, the Company again proceeded, as a Body corporate, in their Buſineſs before the Commiſſioners; and they laid before them their Reaſons and Exceptions againſt Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Accounts, together with all the other Declarations, Anſwers, and Writings, which had been drawn up, and ſo unanimouſly agreed to, by the Committee of the whole Company. And they ſtill particularly inſiſted upon, and ſtrenuouſly preſſed, the expediting Captain *Butler*'s Affair, as that Buſineſs was the moſt urgent, and moſt immediately hurtful and pernicious to the Colony.

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

BUT what the Commiſſioners did, what Enquiries they entered upon, and what Reports they made to his Majeſty, was a dead Secret to the Company; who, in a Letter to the Colony, acknowledge themſelves to be entirely in the Dark, as to what was paſſing, or what was intended. At length, after long waiting for the Iſſue of their Enquiries and Determinations, Mr. Deputy *Farrar*, with ſome few more of the Company, were called, on the 8th of *October*, before the Lords of the Privy Council, who made ſome Propoſals to the Deputy. But theſe being of a very weighty and important Nature, and Mr. *Farrar* conceiving himſelf to have no Power to give an Anſwer to them, they were, at his Requeſt, drawn up into an Order of that Board; that ſo he might, under that Form, preſent them to the Company. This Order of Council ſet forth:

THAT his Majeſty had taken into his princely Conſideration the diſtreſſed State of the Colony of *Virginia*, occaſioned, as it ſeemed, by the ill Government of the Company: That this could not well be remedied, but by reducing the Government into fewer Hands, near the Number of thoſe, that were, in the firſt Patent, appointed: That therein eſpecial Proviſion ſhould be made, for continuing and preſerving the Intereſts of all Adventurers and private Perſons whatſoever: That his Majeſty had therefore reſolved, by a new Charter, to appoint a Governor and twelve Aſſiſtants,

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governors

Assistants, to be resident in *England*, to whom should be committed the Government of the Company and Colony: That the said Governor and Assistants should be nominated and chosen, for the first time, by his Majesty; and that their Election afterwards should be in the following Manner, *viz.* the Assistants should present the Names of three to his Majesty, of whom he should nominate one, to be Governor; and the Assistants themselves should be chosen, by the major Part of their own Body for the time being, the Names of those to be chosen being first presented to the King, or the Council Board, to be allowed of, or disallowed, by his Majesty; and that the Governor, and six of the Assistants, should be changed, once in two Years: That there should also be resident in *Virginia*, a Governor and twelve Assistants, to be nominated by the Governor and Assistants in *England*, they first presenting their Names to his Majesty, or the Council Board, for their Allowance or Disallowance of the same: And that, as the Governor and Assistants, resident in *Virginia*, should have Relation and Dependence on the Governor and Assistants in *England*, so the Governor and Assistants in *England*, should have Relation and Dependence upon the Council Board, that so all Matters of Importance might thereby be under his Majesty's immediate Direction at that Board: And that his Majesty further purposed, to make the like Grants, as well of Lands, as of other Franchises and Benefits, as had been granted in the former Charters; with Declaration, that for settling and establishing all private Interests, this new Company should confirm, or grant anew to all Persons, the like Interests, as they enjoyed by the Grant, Order, or Allowance of the former Company. And therefore, the Deputy and the rest were, by their Lordships, required, to assemble a Court forthwith, to resolve, whether the Company would submit, and surrender their former Charters, and be content to accept a new one, with the aforesaid Alterations; and they were commanded to return their Answer with all Expedition, his Majesty being determined, in Default of such Submission, to proceed for recalling their former Charters, in such Sort, as to him should seem just and meet.

THIS Order of Council so struck and amazed the Company, that, as if they distrusted their own Ears, they caused it to be read over three several times; and after that, no Man, for a long while, spoke a Word to it. However, eight of the Faction of Twenty-six, being present with Sir *Samuel Argall* at their Head, moved the Company, in Conformity to their Lordships Order, to make an immediate Surrender of their Charters; but far the major Part of the Court,

Court, to the Number of an hundred and twelve Perſons, declared reſolutely againſt it. They ſaid, it was a Matter of ſuch Weight and Conſequence, that they thought themſelves to have no Power to give an Anſwer to it, in that ordinary Court. For ſuch Courts were, by their Charters, only permitted, to treat of caſual and particular Occurrences of leſs Conſequence; but all weighty Affairs, and particularly all things relating to Government, were reſtrained, by the preciſe Words of their Letters-patent, to Quarter Courts only. Wherefore, whilſt their preſent Patents were in Force, that ordinary Court had no Authority, to determine ſuch a Matter as this, being of the higheſt and moſt important Nature, that had ever been propounded to them. To which it was added, that, in Obedience to their Charters, they had never taken to themſelves the Liberty, to diſpoſe of ſo much as a ſingle Share of Land, but in their Quarter Court; and they conceived themſelves much more, even in Conſcience, bound, not to betray their Truſt, and ſo ſuddenly paſs away all the Rights of themſelves and the reſt of their numerous Society, and of all the Planters in *Virginia* alſo, who were equally intereſted with them in their Letters-patent. They therefore beſought their Lordſhips, that their Anſwer might, upon theſe juſt Grounds, be reſpited till the Quarter Court; which, being the 19th of *November*, was not far off; and againſt then, they ſhould have Leiſure to conſider well of ſo weighty a Propoſition. And to this End, they ordered a very large and particular Summons to be given to all the Adventurers, againſt that Day; and that their Officers ſhould give them eſpecial Notice of the Buſineſs, then to be treated; and deſire them, in the Company's Name, not to fail to be preſent; which if they did, they would be without Excuſe, and would have no Manner of Pretence, to complain afterwards.

1623. Sr *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THIS Anſwer, however conſonant to both Law and Reaſon, gave no Satisfaction to the Lords of the Privy Council; who, by another Act of their Board, dated the 17th of the ſame Month of *October*, declared it to be merely delatory. Wherefore, as his Majeſty expected a ſpeedy Account of their Proceedings in that Buſineſs, and as it did likewiſe, in itſelf, require all Expedition, in Regard of the Importance and Conſequence thereof (which, by the bye, was an odd Reaſon for being haſty) they ordered, and expreſly charged, the Deputy and the reſt, to aſſemble themſelves again immediately, and on the *Monday* following, being the 20th of the ſaid Month, to deliver a clear, direct, and final Anſwer to that, which had been before propounded, and was that Day reiterated unto them: *viz.* Whether

1623. Sr *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

the Company would be content, to ſubmit and ſurrender their former Charters, and to accept a new one, with the Alterations, mentioned in the aforeſaid Act of Council. And the Deputy was likewiſe commanded, to propound the Queſtion to the Company, in thoſe clear and preciſe Terms, in which it was then delivered.

IN Obedience to this Order of the Privy Council, Mr. *Farrar* called an extraordinary Court; at which, by reaſon of the Shortneſs of the Warning, there were only ſeventy Perſons preſent. And having propoſed the Queſtion to them, in the expreſs Terms, preſcribed in the Act of Council, nine Voices only were for ſubmitting, Sir *Thomas Wroth* being added to the former eight. But all the reſt being ſtrenuouſly againſt the Surrendry of their Charters, an Anſwer was accordingly returned to their Lordſhips.

THESE Proceedings, which ſtruck plainly at the Root and Foundation of all the Rights and Franchiſes of both the Company and Colony, made a great Noiſe, and naturally gave the Alarm to all ſuch, as were any way deeply, or immediately, engaged in the Action. Some Ships therefore, which were preparing to ſail, were ſtopped, till the Iſſue and Intent of theſe Acts of Power were farther ſeen into and underſtood. But the Lords of the Council, being appriſed of this ill Conſequence, made another Order of their Board, on the 20th of *October*, importing: That their Lordſhips were that Day informed, there was ſo great a Diſcouragement among many of the *Virginia* Adventurers, on Account of the intended Reformation and Change of the Government, as rendered them fearful to proſecute their Adventures; ſo that it would probably occaſion ſome Stop to thoſe Ships, which were then ready freighted, and bound to that Country. That, altho' their Lordſhips much marvelled, that any Man ſhould ſo far miſtake their Meaning, conſidering the Declarations, that had been made at that Board, *viva voce*, as alſo by an Act of Council, and otherwiſe, yet for the better ſatisfying of thoſe, who, through their own Error, or the falſe Suggeſtions of others, had conceived any ſuch Fear or Diſcouragement, they thereby again declared, that there was no other Intention, than merely and only the Reformation and Change of the preſent Government; whereof his Majeſty had ſeen ſo many bad Effects, as would endanger the whole Plantation, if it was not corrected and amended: That nevertheleſs, for ſo much as concerned the private Intereſt of every Man, his Majeſty's Royal Care was ſuch, that no Man ſhould receive any Prejudice in his Property, but ſhould have his Eſtate fully and wholly conſerved to him, and if any thing was

found

found defective, better secured; so that none needed to apprehend any such Fears or Inconveniencies, but contrariwise chearfully proceed. It was therefore ordered by their Lordships, and thought fit to be published to the Company, that it was his Majesty's absolute Command, that the Ships, then intended for *Virginia*, and in some Readiness to go, should be forthwith dispatched away, for the Relief of the Colony and Good of the Plantation, without any farther Hindrance or Stop. 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

WHAT were the Proceedings of the Commissioners all this while, I cannot tell; nor whether his Majesty found sufficient Matter, as he thought, from their Reports, to suppress the Company, and revoke their Charters. But the better to fortify this Design, and to raise Matter of Complaint and Accusation, the Lords of the Privy Council, on the 24th of *October*, appointed *John Harvey*, Esq; (afterwards well known, as Governor of *Virginia*, by the Title of Sir *John Harvey*) *John Pory*, (formerly Secretary, and a noted Tool of the Earl of *Warwick*'s) *Abraham Piersey*, *Samuel Matthews*, and *John Jefferson*, Gentlemen, to be their Commissioners, to make particular and diligent Enquiry, touching divers Matters, which concerned the State of the Colony of *Virginia*. And that they might the better perform the Orders they had received, and discharge the Trust committed to them, their Lordships strictly willed and required the Governor and Council here, to yield them their best Aid and Assistance, upon all Occasions, and in all Matters, wherein they should find Cause to make Use of the same. The three Acts of Council also, just before recited, were committed to Mr. *Pory*, and particularly the last, to be published in such Places in *Virginia*, as he should judge fit, for the Quieting and Satisfaction of the Inhabitants here. Captain *Harvey* indeed and Mr. *Pory* seem, to have been the most active, and most depended upon, in this Business; and therefore Captain *Smith*, who had probably never seen their Commission, and knew nothing of the others, only mentions two, as sent upon this Errand. As for Mr. *Jefferson*, he never appeared in it, but seems all along a hearty Friend to the Company, and their present Constitution and Government. Besides, he was present at their Courts in *England*, at such times, as were inconsistent with his prosecuting that Commission in *Virginia*. And Captain *Matthews* expressly joins with the General Assembly, in their Opposite Representations to his Majesty, as will be hereafter related.

THINGS being laid in this Train, soon after, on the 10th of *November*, Mr. Deputy-Treasurer *Farrar*, and divers

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

vers others of the Company, were ſerved with a Proceſs of *Quo Warranto* out of the King's Bench; to ſhew, by what Authority, they claimed to be a Body corporate, and to have and enjoy thoſe Libertics and Privileges, which they did. The Company chearfully acknowledged this to be a fair and legal Manner of proceeding; and they deſired the Defendants, to take eſpecial Care of the Buſineſs, as being the Company's Cauſe, altho' proſecuted in particular Names; and as their Charter was called in Queſtion by it, which, they conceived, was therefore to be pleaded. As for the Charge of this Suit (which, it was judged, would be very great) it was agreed, that it ſhould be borne by the Company's general Stock. Wherefore it was unanimouſly ordered, that whatever Diſburſements ſhould be made by the Defendants, or others, in the Proceſs of the Suit (provided, it were for the Company's Cauſe and Defence, and not for Matters, that in the Iſſue would fall upon particular Perſons, or their Actions) they ſhould all be duly repaid, and made good by the Company. But the entertaining Counſel and Attornies was wholly left and entruſted to the Choice and Care of the Defendants.

BUT for this Cauſe, ſince another Courſe had been taken to bring the Buſineſs to a legal Trial, by the Attorney General's proſecuting a *Quo Warranto* againſt the Company, they refuſed, at their Quarter Court on the 19th of *November*, to enter into any Conſideration about the Matter. But that Court, with a general Unanimity, (ſeven only diſſenting) ſolemnly ratified and confirmed all the Proceedings of the former Courts, which had refuſed to ſurrender up their Charters. And for the better Management of ſo weighty an Affair, which would require often and ſerious Conſultation, a Grand Committee was appointed, to direct all Matters appertaining thereto; and the Deputy had Authority given him, at all times to call them together, or ſuch a Part of them, as he ſhould think proper. And that the Company might be the better enabled to prepare their Proofs, and make good their Defence, a Petition was ordered to be delivered to the Lords of the Privy Council, for reſtoring their Books and Writings; which had now, for ſome time, been in theirs and the Commiſſioners Hands. But Mr. *Bing* ſaid, let them make as many Petitions as they pleaſe, they ſhould as ſoon have an Halter, as have their Writings; which gave ſuch univerſal and juſt Offence, that Complaint was made thereof to the Lords of the Council. But I do not find, that any Right was done them, for ſo atrocious an Inſult and Affront on the Court, or that they ever afterwards recovered their Records.

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governer.

BUT ſoon after, on the 8th of *December*, the more to perplex and diſcourage the Company, and to oppreſs thoſe private Members, who were Defendants in this Suit, Alderman *Johnſon*, with others of his Faction, preſented a Petition to the Lords of the Privy Council, ſignifying; That they had always been, and ſtill were ready, according to his Majeſty's expreſs Will and Pleaſure, to render up their Charters to his Majeſty's Diſpoſal: But foraſmuch as Mr. *Nicholas Farrar*, and ſome others, withſtood the Surrendry, and the better to free themſelves from the Charge of the Suit, and to enable them to oppoſe his Majeſty, they had lately made an Order of their Court, that the Expence of defending that Cauſe ſhould be borne by the Company's publick Stock; they therefore humbly prayed, that it might be ordered by their Lordſhips, that the Charge of thoſe Suits ſhould be borne by the Defendants themſelves, and no Part by the Company's publick Stock, nor by the Goods of any of the Adventurers or Planters, that ſhewed themſelves conformable to his Majeſty's Pleaſure, And they further beſought their Lordſhips, to order, for better Aſſurance in this Point, that all ſuch Goods, as ſhould thereafter be imported for the General Company, ſhould be ſequeſtered in the Cuſtom Houſe, till their Lordſhips farther Order, for diſpoſing thereof to the Uſe and Benefit of the Plantation.

THIS laſt Clauſe was purpoſely aimed and deſigned, to deprive the Deputy and his Brother, with ſome others, (to whom the Company had made over all ſuch Goods, as Security for conſiderable Sums of Money, now due to them) of ever having it in their Power, to get their ſaid Debts. Their Lordſhips therefore, being appriſed of this, would not concur with the Alderman in a Deſign, ſo plainly fraudulent and iniquitous. However, they made an Order of their Board, that all they, who were queſtioned by the *Quo Warranto*, ſhould make their Defence, at their own private Charge, without any Help or Expence from the publick Stock; and that ſuch, as were willing to ſurrender their Charters, ſhould be diſcharged from all Contribution towards the Expence of the ſaid Suit, both in their Perſons and Eſtates. And this perhaps will be thought ſufficiently hard and oppreſſive. But however, conſidering the noble Fortunes and generous Diſpoſitions of the Earl of *Southampton* and many others of the Company, who entirely agreed to, and abetted the Proceedings of the Courts and Deputy, the Expence was, in all Probability, made very eaſy, and did not fall upon the Defendants ſo heavily, as was hereby deſigned. And I cannot here forbear re-

1623. marking the Generosity and publick Spirit of the Deputy, and other Merchants and Citizens. For the Noblemen, and other Gentlemen of capital Fortune and Figure, were not returned out of the Country, when the *Quo Warranto* was issued; so that it was served entirely upon Merchants and Citizens, who nevertheless bravely undertook the Defence of the Company, at the Risk of their own Fortunes. And this was the more meritorious then, as the Rights of the Crown, and the Liberties of the Subject, were not so well limited and understood at that time, as they now are; but the little Finger of Regal Power was supposed two heavy, for the Loins of any private Man to bear. To which may be added, that Acts of Power, at that Juncture, ran very high, and were plainly attempted to be carried still higher; and the Deputy and Company had no Reason to expect any Favour, but had found from manifold Experience, that all Advantages, even beyond what was strictly fair and legal, would be taken against them.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

It will also doubtless seem strange to many Persons, that the Privy Council should assume to themselves such a Judicature, as thus arbitrarily to dispose of Men's Fortunes, and load a few private Persons with the Expence of defending the publick Cause of the Company, even against the Company's Will and Desire. But to clear this Point, it must be known, that the Privy Council of that time assumed a most extraordinary Power and Jurisdiction, and were plainly drawing into their Hands all the Parts of Government; or perhaps to speak more properly, the King, through them, was endeavouring to draw them into his own Hands. And this, as I take it, was the Occasion of a great and very dangerous Error in the Constitution of this Colony. For as our Council was settled and constituted at the Time, that the Privy Council's Authority was strained to such a Height, there was perhaps too great a Power assigned to them. I speak freely, and I hope, without Offence; for what I mean, is simply this. Our Council act in a double Capacity: First, as his Majesty's Council of State, from which all Acts of Power and Government issue; and secondly, as the supreme Judicature of the Colony, and the last Interpreters of Law. Now, if the Council should exert any Act of Power against a Man, and he should appeal from it, the Cause must be brought before the same Persons again in the General Court, who would be naturally led to support their own Act. But in *England*, the Case is quite different. For should the Privy Council exercise any Act of Power upon the Subject there, he may appeal from them, to the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*; where

where the Cauſe muſt be determined by the Law, which is always impartial and unbiaſſed. So that all Acts of Power there, are expoſed to an immediate and ſevere Check from the Law. And indeed this is the great Beauty and Strength of all free Conſtitutions of Government, to have all their Parts, but moſt eſpecially the higheſt and moſt dangerous to Liberty, continually under the Check and Coercion of the Law. But if we conſider the many Infirmities of human Nature and Contingencies of human Governments, the Charms and Allurements of Ambition and the ſtrange graſping and inſatiable Nature of Power, the natural Pride and Peremptorineſs of Men in Authority, their falſe Shame of owning themſelves in the Wrong, and Proneneſs to defend and perſiſt in their Errors, together with the natural and perpetual Conteſt between Liberty and Power, this muſt, I think, be acknowledged, to be a very great and material Defect in our Conſtitution. It is true, there are not perhaps any great Inconveniences felt from this at preſent, at leaſt that I know of; which I ſpeak not, with Intent to flatter our preſent Government or Governors: For I flatter no Man. But however, altho' the Sword did not actually fall upon the *Sicilian* Sycophant, yet no Perſon, I believe, would chuſe to be in his Situation, and have a Sword perpetually hanging over his Head by a Hair. Whoever therefore ſhould contrive and effect an Alteration in this dangerous Point, he ſhould have my Suffrage for a Statue, or any other, the moſt honourable, or moſt beneficial Reward, for ſo ſignal a Service to the Country. But to return from this Digreſſion.

1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

BESIDES the Petition, formerly recited, Alderman *Johnſon*, being much galled by the Company's home Anſwers and Expoſure of his and Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Conduct, drew up another Writing, under the Title of; *A Declaration of the proſperous Eſtate of the Colony, during Sir Thomas Smith's Time of Government.* In this, ſubſcribed by himſelf, Sir *Samuel Argall*, and Mr. *Wrote*, he ſaid: That notwithſtanding the many diſaſtrous Accidents, to which Enterpriſes of that Nature, eſpecially in their Infancy, are ſubject, yet it pleaſed God, ſo to bleſs their Labours and Endeavours, who were then employed, that in the firſt twelve Years, during all which Time Sir *Thomas Smith* was Treaſurer and Governor of the Company, with the Expence of ſeventy thouſand Pounds, or thereabouts, brought in for the moſt part by voluntary Adventurers, being a great many of them Sir *Thomas*'s near Friends and Relations, and for his Sake joining in the Buſineſs, and with the Help and Uſe of a very few of his Majeſty's Sub-

1623. S. *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

jects, and those mostly People of the meanest Rank, a large and very spacious Part of the Country was fully discovered; the Coasts, Havens, Ports, Creeks, and Rivers thereof perfectly known; the most commodious Places of Strength, and for Conveniency of Habitation, selected and made Choice of; those Places partly recovered, or procured from the Savages, and partly with infinite Labour, being generally overspread with Wood, cleared, enclosed, and cultivated; many Houses, Barns, and Forts built; Churches, Bridges, and Storehouses, with all other publick and necessary Works, erected; not less, as he judges, than a thousand *English*, when Sir *Thomas Smith* left the Government, being there inhabiting, with Plenty of Corn, Cattle, Swine, Poultry, and other good Provisions, to feed and nourish them: That there was a competent Number of able and sufficient Ministers, to instruct them; worthy and expert Commanders, Captains, and Officers, to direct and govern them; and Store of Arms and Ammunition, to defend them: That divers Staple Commodities, besides Tobacco, were found out, at the present to encourage, and in process of time to enrich them; Barks, Pinnaces, Shallops, Barges, and Boats, built in the Country, the better to accommodate and secure them: That the Natives were in so awful a League and Amity with them, that many of those Heathens voluntarily yielded themselves Subjects and Servants to our most gracious Sovereign; and priding themselves in that Title, paid, together with most of the rest, a Yearly Contribution of Corn, for Sustentation of the Colony; and they were kept in such good Respect and Correspondency, that they became mutually helpful and profitable, each to other: That to this Growth of Perfection was that Plantation advanced, even in the first twelve Years; the Affairs thereof being, with great Unanimity, Moderation, Integrity, and Judgment, chiefly directed by Sir *Thomas Smith*; and the Accompts of Monies, received and disbursed, being audited upon Oath, by Men of Credit and Reputation, without all Exception.

THE Commissioners were still sitting; and the Company, being wearied with long waiting for the Issue of their Labours, appointed their Grand Committee, to press them to make some Report to the Lords of the Council, what they had done in the several Affairs, brought before them by the Company and their Opponents. For they said, they greatly depended, that the Fairness and Uprightness of their Proceedings would be thence manifested to all the World. And they were likewise entreated, to require Sir *Thomas Smith*, either to shew sufficient Cause, why

why he ſhould not pay the eight hundred Pounds, found againſt him on the firſt two Heads of Exception againſt his Accounts; or elſe, that he might be compelled to pay the ſame, as the Company was now in great Want of Money. But I cannot diſcover, that the Commiſſioners, who were, properly ſpeaking, a Committee of Secrecy, ever did any thing in either of theſe Points. 1623. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

WHILST Things were in this Poſture in *England*, the Colony in *Virginia* had recovered a tolerably eaſy and comfortable State of their Affairs. Their Health, which had been much affected by the Famine, and by the Hardſhips and Inconveniences, they underwent by being driven from their Habitations, was now well reſtored; and the Famine itſelf entirely relieved by a plentiful Crop of Corn. Having likewiſe, by pretending Peace and Friendſhip, come to the Knowledge of the *Indians* principal Places of Reſidence, they had cut up and deſtroyed their Corn, when it was too late for them to have another Crop; and by a ſucceſsful Attack, they had ſlain a great Number of them, among whom were ſome of their Kings, and ſeveral of their greateſt War-Captains and Commanders; of which *Opechancanough* was hoped to be one. For the Stratagem was chiefly aimed at him, and things, as they thought, ſo well laid, that he could ſcarce poſſibly eſcape the Snare. The Governor alſo went himſelf, this Year, in Perſon into *Patowmack* River, and took a full Revenge upon the *Paſcoticons*, who had ſlain Captain *Spilman*; putting many to the Sword, and burning their Houſes, with a prodigious Quantity of Corn, which they had conveyed into the Woods, and the *Engliſh* were not able to bring to their Boats. And he iſſued Commiſſions to Captain *William Pierce*, Captain of his Guard and Lieutenant-Governor of *James-City*, to go againſt the *Chickahominies*; to Captain *Nathaniel Weſt*, to go againſt the *Appamatocks* and the *Taux-Wyanokes*; to Captain *Samuel Matthews*, againſt the *Taux-Powhatans*; and to Captain *William Tucker*, Commander of *Kicquotan* and thoſe lower Parts of the Country, to go againſt the *Nandſamonds* and *Warraſqueakes*; all which Parties fell upon them the very ſame Day, the 23d of *July*, with vaſt Spoil to their Corn and Habitations, and no ſmall Slaughter. And a Week after, Captain *Maddiſon* marched againſt the great *Wyanokes*, and Captain *Tucker* made a ſecond Expedition to *Nandſamond*.

BUT in the Midſt of theſe Tumults and Alarms, the Muſes were not ſilent. For at this time, Mr. *George Sandys*, the Company's Treaſurer of *Virginia*, made his Tranſlation of *Ovid*'s *Metamorphoſes*, a very laudable Performance for

1623. for the Times. In his Dedication of that Piece to King *Charles* I. he tells him, that it was limned by that imperfect Light, which was snatched from the Hours of Night and Repose. For the Day was not his own, but dedicated to the Service of his Father and himself; and had that Service proved as fortunate, as it was faithful, in him, as well as others more worthy, they had hoped, before the Revolution of many Years, to have presented his Majesty with a rich and well-peopled Kingdom. But as things had turned, he had only been able to bring from thence himself and that Composition, which needed more than a single Denization. For it was doubly a Stranger, being sprung from an ancient *Roman* Stock, and bred up in the new World, of the Rudeness whereof it could not but participate; especially as it was produced among Wars and Tumults; instead of under the kindly and peaceful Influences of the Muses.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

1624. THE Beginning of the next Year 1624, Captain *Harvey* and Mr. *Pory* arrived, as Commissioners from the Privy Council; and the 26th of *January*, Warrants were issued for summoning a General Assembly. However this Assembly was not called, at the Commissioners Motion or Request. For they kept their Commission secret from the Colony, and did every thing, they could, to conceal their Powers and Designs. The King also and the Privy Council had, the last Year, given very strict and menacing Orders to the Company, and to all private Adventurers, to write nothing to *Virginia*, concerning the Differences, then subsisting among them; because, as they said, it would give great Discouragement to the Planters, and bring Prejudice to the Colony. To this End, the Privy Council had often perused, and angrily returned, the Company's general Letters, before they could be formed entirely to their Liking; and they had taken all Methods, to intercept and prevent any Accounts going from private Hands. But notwithstanding these Precautions, the Colony was, by this time, well informed, of what had passed in *England*; and Copies of the several Writings had been sent over to them especially of Alderman *Johnson*'s Declaration of the prosperous Estate of the Colony, during Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Government, and of Captain *Butler*'s Information to his Majesty. For those Papers related more particularly to them, as being upon the Spot, and therefore the best Judges of the Truth or Falshood of the several Matters, therein alledged. Wherefore, when the General Assembly met, which was the 14th of *February*, the first thing, they entered upon, was the Consideration of those two Pieces; and by the 20th

On

of the ſame Month, they had drawn up Anſwers to them. Their Anſwer to the Alderman's Declaration ſet forth: 1624.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THAT holding it a Sin againſt God and their own Sufferings, to permit the World to be abuſed with falſe Reports, and to give to Vice the Reward of Virtue, They, in the Name of the whole Colony of *Virginia*, in their General Aſſembly met, many of them having been Eye-witneſſes and Sufferers in thoſe Times, had framed, out of their Duty to the Country, and Love to Truth, the following Anſwer to the Praiſes given to Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Government, in the ſaid Declaration.

THEY averred, that, in thoſe twelve Years of Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Government, the Colony for the moſt part, remained in great Want and Miſery, under moſt ſevere and cruel Laws, which were ſent over in Print, and were contrary to the expreſs Letter of the King's moſt gracious Charters, and as mercileſly executed here, oftentimes without Trial or Judgment: That the Allowance for a Man, in thoſe Times, was only eight Ounces of Meal and half a Pint of Peaſe a Day, both the one and the other being moldy, rotten, full of Cobwebbs and Maggots, loathſome to Man, and not fit for Beaſts; which forced many to fly to the Savage Enemy for Relief, who, being again taken, were put to ſundry Kinds of Death, by hanging, ſhooting, breaking upon the Wheel, and the like: That others were forced, by Famine, to filch for their Bellies; of whom one, for ſtealing two or three Pints of Oatmeal, had a Bodkin thruſt through his Tongue, and was chained to a Tree, till he ſtarved: That if a Man, through Sickneſs, had not been able to work, he had no Allowance at all, and ſo conſequently periſhed: That many through theſe Extremities, dug Holes in the Earth, and there hid themſelves, till they famiſhed: That they could not, for thoſe their Miſeries, blame their Commanders here; for their Suſtenance was to come from *England*, and had they given them better Allowance, they muſt have periſhed in general: That their Scarcity ſometimes was ſo lamentable, that they were conſtrained to eat Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, Toadſtools, Horſe-hides, and what not? That one Man, out of the Miſery he endured, killed his Wife, and powdered her up to eat; for which he was burnt: That many others fed on the Corpſes of dead Men; and that one, who, through Cuſtom, had got an inſatiable Appetite to that Food, could not be reſtrained, till he was executed for it: And that, indeed, ſo miſerable was their State, that the happieſt Day, many ever hoped to ſee, was, when the *Indians* had killed a Mare; the People wiſhing, as ſhe was boiling,

1624. ing, that Sir *Thomas Smith* was upon her Back in the Kettle.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

AND whereas it was affirmed, that very few of his Majesty's Subjects were loſt in thoſe Days, and thoſe Perſons of the meaneſt Rank, they replied; that for one, that then died, five had periſhed in Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Times, many being of ancient Houſes, and born to Eſtates of a thouſand Pounds a Year, ſome more, ſome leſs, who likewiſe periſhed by Famine: That thoſe, who ſurvived, and had in Ventures both their Eſtates and Perſons, were conſtrained to ſerve the Colony ſeven or eight Years for their Freedom, and underwent as hard and as ſervile Labour, as the baſeſt Fellow, that was brought out of *Newgate*: As for Diſcovery, they owned, that much had been diſcovered in thoſe twelve Years, but in the four or five laſt Years, much more than formerly: That the Houſes and Churches, then built, were ſo mean and poor by reaſon of theſe Calamities, that they could not ſtand above one or two Years; the People going to work indeed, but out of the Bitterneſs of their Spirits, breathing execrable Curſes upon Sir *Thomas Smith*; neither could a Bleſſing from God be hoped for in thoſe Buildings, which were founded upon the Blood of ſo many *Chriſtians*: That the Towns were only *James-City*, *Henrico*, *Charles Hundred*, *Weſt* and *Shirley Hundred*, and *Kicquotan*; all which were ruined in thoſe Times, except ten or twelve Houſes in *James-Town*: That at that Preſent, there were four for every one then, and forty times exceeding them in Goodneſs: That Fortifications there were none againſt a foreign Enemy, and thoſe againſt the domeſtick Foe very few and contemptible: That there was only one Bridge, which alſo decayed in that time: That if, through the aforeſaid Calamities, many had not periſhed, there would doubtleſs have been largely above a thouſand People in the Country, when Sir *Thomas Smith* left the Government; but they conceived, when Sir *George Yeardley* arrived Governor, he found not above four hundred, moſt of them in Want of Corn, and utterly deſtitute of Cattle, Swine, Poultry, and other neceſſary Proviſions to nouriſh them: That there were ſome Miniſters to inſtruct the People, whoſe Ability they would not tax, but divers of them had no Orders: That they were never over furniſhed with Arms, Powder and Ammunition; yet that in Quality almoſt entirely uſeleſs: They acknowledge, that in thoſe times a Trial was made of divers Staple Commodities, which they had not Means to proceed in; but they hoped, in time a better Progreſs would be made therein, and had it not been for the Maſſacre, many by that time

time would have been brought to Perfection: That for Boats, there was only one ſerviceable one left in the Colony, at the End of that Government; for which one, beſides four or five Ships and Barks, there were not then ſo few as forty: That the Barks and Barges, then built, were in Number ſo few, and ſo unwillingly and weakly by the People effected, that in the ſame time they periſhed: That they never knew, that the Natives did voluntarily yield themſelves Subjects to the King, took any Pride in that Title, or paid any Contribution of Corn towards the Support of the Colony; neither could they, at any time, keep them in ſuch good Correſpondency, as to become mutually helpful to each other; but contrariwiſe, whatever was done, proceeded from Fear, and not Love, and their Corn was got by Trade or the Sword. 1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

AND now, to what a Growth of Perfection the Colony could arrive at the End of thoſe twelve Years, they left to be judged, by what had been ſaid; and they beſought his Majeſty, rather than be reduced to live under the like Government again, that he would ſend Commiſſioners over to hang them. As to Alderman *Johnſon*, one of the Authors of that Declaration, they ſaid, he had great Reaſon to commend Sir *Thomas Smith*, to whoſe Offences and Infamy he was ſo inſeparably linked. And all this they affirmed to be true by the general Report of the Country, which they never heard contradicted; many of them alſo having been Eye-Witneſſes, or elſe reſident in the Country, when every Particular here reported, happened.

THIS Declaration was ſigned by Sir *Francis Wyat*, the Governor; by *George Sandys*, *John Pot*, *John Pountis*, *Roger Smith*, and *Ralph Hamer*, Eſqrs. of the Council; and by *William Tucker*, *William Pierce*, *Ralegh Croſhaw*, *Samuel Matthews*, *Jabez Whitaker*, and others, to the Number of twenty four, of the Houſe of Burgeſſes. And this, I judge (or the Number of twenty five, which ſubſcribed the Anſwer to Captain *Butler*'s Information) was nearly about the full Number of the Houſe of Burgeſſes at that time. For there were, three Years before, eleven Boroughs which had Right to ſend Members to the Aſſembly; and there might be, and undoubtedly were, a few others ſince added to them. Their Anſwer to Captain *Butler*'s Information, ran in the following Manner.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WHEREAS *a Copy of an Information, preſented to Your Majeſty by Captain* Nathaniel Butler, *entitled*, The Unmaſking of *Virginia*, *is come to our Hands*; *and*

1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

and whereas the same is full of notorious Slanders and Falshoods, proceeding from the Malice of his corrupt Heart, and abetted by private Enmity and publick Division, which aim at the Satisfaction of their particular Spleen, altho' it be to the Subversion of this whole Colony; Wee, the Governor, Council, and Colony of Virginia, *in our General Assembly, out of Zeal and Respect to Your Majesty and this our Country, not to suffer Your sacred Ears to be prophaned with false Suggestions, nor Your Royal Thoughts to be diverted from so hopeful a Plantation, which may add in time a principal Flower to Your Diadem, do, in all Humbleness, submit this our Answer to Your Princely Survey, annexed to the several Untruths of the said Informer.*

1. I found the Plantations generally seated, *&c.* *

THE Plantations, for the most Part, are high and pleasantly seated; and the rest not low, nor infested with Marshes, which, we wish, were more frequent. The Creeks are rather useful, than noisome; and no Bogs have been seen here by any, that have lived twice as many Years, as he did Weeks, in the Country; the Places which he so miscalls, being the richest Parts of the Earth, if we had a sufficient Force to clear their Woods, and to give the fresh Springs, which run through them, a free Passage. The Soil is generally rich, and restores our Trust with Abundance; the Air is sweet, and the Clime healthful, all Circumstances considered, to Men of sound Bodies and good Government.

2. I found the Shores, *&c.*

IN this he traduceth one of the goodliest Rivers in the habitable World, which runs for many Miles together within upright Banks, till at length, enlarged with the Receipt of others, it beats on a sandy Shore, and imitates the Sea in Greatness and Majesty. It is approachable on both Sides, from half Flood to half Ebb, for Boats of good Burthen; neither is there any River in the World of this Vastness, without Cranes or Wharfs, more commodious for landing. And it is equally contrary to Truth, that by wading we get violent Surfeits of Cold, which never leave us, till we are brought to our Graves.

3. THE new People, sent over, arriving for the most Part, *&c.*

WE affirm, that the Winter is the only proper time for the Arrival of new Comers; whereof the Governor and Council have often, by their Letters, informed the Com-

* *Vide* Captain *Butler*'s Information, *p.* 268.

pany;

pany; and the like Advice has been given to their Correſpondents, from time to time, by private Planters, for their Supply of Servants. As to Houſes of Entertainment, there was a general Subſcription, amounting to an unexpected Sum, and Workmen actually employed, to build a fair Inn in *James* City, and every principal Plantation had reſolved on the like, for the Entertainment of their new Supplies; when it pleaſed God, to puniſh our Crimes by the bloody Hands of the *Indians*, which obliged us to divert that Care to the Houſing ourſelves, many of us having been unfurniſhed by that Diſaſter. But Buildings of late have every where encreaſed exceedingly; neither have new Comers any Reaſon to complain, when every Man's Houſe is, without Recompence, open to the Stranger, even to the diſaccommodating ourſelves. So that we may with Modeſty boaſt, that no People in the World do exerciſe the like Hoſpitality. As for dying under Hedges (whereof there are none in *Virginia*) or lying unburied in the Woods, by reaſon of this Defect, it is utterly falſe. However, if ſuch things ſhould ſometimes be ſeen accidentally here, the like may, and often doth happen, in the moſt flouriſhing Countries of *Europe*.

1624. Sr *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

4. THE Colony was, this Winter, in great Diſtreſs, *&c.* THE Colony, that Winter, was in no Diſtreſs of Victual, as the Accuſer well knoweth. For he bought Corn himſelf for eight Shillings a Buſhel, cheaper, as we hear, than it was then ſold in *England*. It is true, a ſucceeding Scarcity was feared. But what leſs could be expected, after ſuch a Maſſacre; when near half the Colony were driven from their Habitations in time of planting, others ſtreightened in their Ground by receiving them, and all interrupted in their Buſineſs by ſupporting a ſudden War? *Engliſh* Meal ſold, as he affirmeth, at thirty Shillings the Buſhel, was only ſold for ten Pounds of Tobacco; for which, in truck, we ordinarily receive under twelve Pence a Pound, real Value. And it is not to be ſuppoſed, that any of the Great ſhould affect Scarcity, in order to enrich themſelves by Trade. For Trade hath ever been free for us all; neither have they, who have brought in moſt Corn, ſold it out at unconſcionable Rates, but have often freely imparted it to the Neceſſity of others, without any other Advantage than Repayment. We agree with that Prime-one, who wiſhed, that Corn might never be under eight Shillings a Buſhel; meaning in Tobacco at three Shillings a Pound. For ſo there would be ſome Proportion between the Profit of making the one and the other, and Corn would thereby be planted in greater Abundance.

5. THEIR

1624.

5. THEIR Houſes are generally the worſt, *&c.*

Sr *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

OUR Houſes, for the moſt Part, are rather built for Uſe than Ornament; yet not a few for both, and fit to give Entertainment to Men of good Quality. If we may give Credit to thoſe, who are accounted the moſt faithful Relaters of the *Weſt-Indies*, many Cities of great Rumour there, after threeſcore Years Progreſs, are not to be compared in their Buildings to ours. And ſo far are they from the meaneſt Cottages in *England*, that many Towns there have hardly one Houſe in them, which exceedeth ours in Conveniency or Structure. The greateſt Diſparagement, that ſome of them received, proceeded from his Riots and laſcivious Filthineſs with lewd Women, purchaſed with Rials of Eight and Wedges of Gold, the Spoils of the diſtreſſed *Spaniards* in *Bermudas*; which, as we are informed by a Gentleman of good Credit, who caſually ſurveyed his Inventory, did, with other Treaſure, amount to divers Thouſands. As for the Interpoſition of Creeks, which Men are moſt deſirous to ſeat upon, where we cannot go by Land, we have Boats and Canoes, for our ſudden Tranſport on any Occaſion.

6. I found not the leaſt Piece of Fortification, *&c.*

WE have, as yet, no Fortifications againſt a foreign Enemy, altho' it hath been endeavoured by the Company, with a Succeſs unanſwerable to their Care and Expence; as alſo lately by ourſelves. But the Work, being interrupted by the Scarcity of laſt Summer, ſhall proceed again, God willing, with all convenient Expedition; and almoſt all our Houſes are ſufficiently fortified againſt the *Indians*, with ſtrong Paliſadoes. His Envy would not let him number truly the Ordinance at *James* City; four Demi-Culverins being there mounted, and all ſerviceable. At *Flower-de-Hundred*, he makes but one of ſix; neither was he ever there, but, according to his Cuſtom, reporteth the unſeen as ſeen. The ſame Envy would not let him ſee the three Pieces at *Newport's-News*, and thoſe two at *Eliſabeth-City*. Two great Pieces there are at *Charles Hundred*, and ſeven at *Henrico*. Beſides which, ſeveral private Planters have ſince furniſhed themſelves with Ordinance. So that it were a deſperate Enterpriſe, and unlikely to be attempted by a Man of his Spirit, to beat down our Houſes about our Ears, with a Bark of that Burthen.

7. EXPECTING, according to their printed Books, *&c.*

THE time that this Informer came over, was in the Winter, after the Maſſacre; when thoſe Wounds were green, and the Earth deprived of her Beauty. His Ears were open to nothing but Detraction, and he only enquired after

after the Factious, of which there were none among us, and how he might gather Accusations against those in the Government, being, as it should seem, sent over for that Purpose. Otherwise he could not but hear of our Proclamations for the Advancement of Staple Commodities, and with what Alacrity and Success they proceeded; Vines and Mulberry Trees being planted throughout the whole Country, the Iron-Works in great Forwardness and shortly to receive Perfection, and the Glass-Works laboured after with all possible Care, till the Slaughter by the *Indians*, and the succeeding Mortality, gave a Ruin to some, and Interruption to all. So that he hath nothing but our Misfortunes to accuse and upbraid us with; which have obliged us, still to follow that contemptible Weed, as well to sustain the War, as to enable us again to erect those Works. As for deriding the Books, that were sent over by the Company, it was done by himself, and no other, that we know of. 1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

8. I found the ancient Plantations of *Henrico*, *&c.*

STILL he abuseth your Majesty with these Words, *I found*, in Places, where he never was by some Score of Miles; having never been higher up the River, than the Territories of *James City*. *Henrico* was quitted in Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Time, only the Church and one House remaining. *Charles City*, so much spoken of, never had but six Houses. The Soil of both is barren, worn out, and not fit for Culture. The Loss of our Stocks the Informer hath less Reason to urge. For he joined with the *Indians* in killing our Cattle, and carried the Beef aboard his Ship; which would have cost him his Life, if he had had his Deserts.

9. WHEREAS according to his Majesty's gracious, *&c.*

THE Governor and Council, whom it only concerned, replied to this; that they had followed the Laws and Customs of *England* to their utmost Skill; neither could he, or any other, produce any Particular, wherein they had failed. As to their Ignorance, they held him to be no competent Judge of those, who so far transcended him in Point of Learning and Ability. For he had never been bred to the Law (as was not unknown to some of them) nor yet in any other of the liberal Sciences. But his principal Spleen in this Article, appeared to proceed from his not being admitted of the Council, which they could by no means, consistently with their Instructions, do.

10. THERE having been, as it is thought, ten thousand, *&c.*

HIS Computation of ten thousand Souls falleth short of four thousand; and those were, in great part, wasted by

1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

the more than *Egyptian* Slavery and *Scythian* Cruelty, which was exercised on us, your poor and miserable Subjects, by Laws written in Blood, and executed with all Sorts of Tyranny, in the Time of Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Government; whereof we send your Majesty the true and tragical Relation, from which it will plainly appear, that the pretended Confusions and private Ends will strongly reflect upon him and his Instructors. And how unfit such Men are, to restore that Plantation, which suffered so much under their Government, we humbly refer to your princely Consideration; invoking, with him, that divine and supreme Hand, to protect us from such Governors and their Ministers, who have poured out our Blood on the Earth like Water, and have fatted themselves with our Famine. And we beseech your Majesty, to support us in this just and gentle Authority, which has cherished us of late by more worthy Magistrates; and We, our Wives, and poor Children, as is our Duty, shall ever pray to God, to give you in this World all Increase of Happiness, and to crown you in the World to come, with immortal Glory.

THIS Answer was subscribed by the same Persons as the former; only with the Addition of the Honourable *Francis West*, Brother to the late, and Uncle to the then Lord *Delawarr*, and Sir *George Yeardley*, of the Council, and of one more Member of the House of Burgesses. Mr. *John Pountis* also, one of the Council of State, was appointed to go to *England*, to sollicite the general Cause of the Colony (for so they call it); and four Pounds of Tobacco was levied upon every Male Tithable, that had been a Year in the Country, to support his Expences. But this Gentleman, in his Voyage home, died upon the Coast of *England*; and was therefore able to do nothing in the Affair. But to these, the General Assembly added two other Writings; the one a Petition to the King, and the other a Letter to the Lords of the Privy Council.

IN their Petition to the King, they declared their great Joy and Satisfaction, that his Majesty, notwithstanding the late unjust Disparagement of this Plantation, had taken it into his nearer and more especial Care. And that his Royal Intentions might have their due Effect, they humbly besought him, being urged thereto by their Duty and Experience, to give no Credit to the late Declarations of the happy, as it was called, but in Truth, miserable Estate of the Colony, during the first twelve Years, nor to the malicious Imputations, which had been laid on the Government of late; but that he would be pleased to behold, in Miniature,

Miniature, the true Eſtate of both Times by their Relations, which they then preſented by the Hands of Mr. *John Pountis*, a worthy Member of their Body; and which contained nothing but the Truth, without Diſaffection or Partiality. From theſe they doubted not, but that his Majeſty would clearly underſtand the true Condition of both Times; and would be pleaſed, according to their earneſt Deſire, to continue, and even farther confirm, the Government, under which they then lived. But if it ſhould pleaſe him otherwiſe to determine, they beſought him, by all the Ties of Compaſſion and Humanity, not to ſuffer them, his poor Subjects, to fall again into the Hands of Sir *Thomas Smith*, or his Confidents; but that he would graciouſly protect them from thoſe Storms of Faction, which threatened the Ruin of ſome Perſons (whoſe Endeavours had deſerved a better Reward) and in general the Subverſion of the whole Colony. And if the Government muſt be altered, they deſired, ſince the Action was of ſuch Honour and Conſequence, that they might ſtill depend upon ſuch great and noble Perſons, as they lately had done. And farther, in Conſideration of the late Maſſacre and ſubſequent Calamities, they beſought his Majeſty, to grant them and the *Somer-Iſlands* the ſole Importation of Tobacco; aſſuring him, that they affected not that contemptible Weed, as a thing good and deſirable in itſelf, but as a preſent Means of Support. And if it ſhould pleaſe his Majeſty, to ſend over that Aid of Soldiers, whereof they had been put in Hopes, or any other Aſſiſtance, they humbly deſired, that the Governor and General Aſſembly might have a Voice in their Diſpoſal; ſince none at that Diſtance, by reaſon of Accidents and emergent Occaſions, could direct ſuch an Affair ſo advantageouſly, as they were enabled to do, by their Preſence and Experience in the Country. 1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

In their Letter to the Privy Council, they acknowledged the Receipt of ſeveral of theirs, and returned their Thanks to his Majeſty for his princely Care of the Colony; particularly for remitting three Pence a Pound in the Cuſtom of Tobacco, and for his gracious Intention to grant them a ſole Importation, than which nothing could give greater Life, or a more ſpeedy Advancement, to the Colony. For little or nothing could be expected from Poverty, to which the mean Prices of Tobacco, and great Expence of the War againſt the *Indians*, had reduced them. Neither had they, in their preſent State, the Means to fortify themſelves, or to ſet up Staple Commodities, which would require a long Expectation of Profit; the Fruit of their Labours at preſent amounting to no more, if ſo much, as

1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

would barely feed and cloath them. They therefore humbly entreated their Lordſhips, to be a Means to his Majeſty to confirm his gracious Intention; and to take into their Conſideration the heavy Burthen, of paying for Cuſtom above a Third of their Labour; which, they deſired, might be reduced to five *per Cent.* according to the expreſs Tenor of their original Charters.

THEY further told their Lordſhips, that they underſtood by their Letters, that they had been accuſed by one, who went from hence, of Neglect in Fortifications, in building Houſes, and in providing themſelves Suſtenance; but they proteſted againſt his Relation, which was, as in other things, ſo in this, moſt falſe and ſlanderous. They had, in due Submiſſion, publiſhed their Orders, ſent over by Mr. *Pory*; by which they underſtood his Majeſty's Intention, to change the Government. They profeſſed themſelves ignorant of the Dangers and Ruin, that threatened them from the Government, as it then ſtood; and declared, they had nothing to accuſe thoſe Gentlemen of, who had ſwayed their Affairs, ſince the Expiration of Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Authority; their Slavery having ſince been converted into Freedom, and the Colony cheriſhed under a juſt and moderate Government. Neither would they have been ſubject to Cenſure, had not the bitter Effects of the Maſſacre clouded the Company's Zeal and their Endeavours.

BUT however it might pleaſe his Majeſty to diſpoſe of them, it was their humble Deſire, that the Governors, ſent over, might not have abſolute Authority, but might be reſtrained to the Conſent of the Council; which Title, they deſired, might ſtill be retained to the Honour of the Colony, and not converted to the Name of Aſſiſtants, as was propoſed in an Order of their Board. They ſaid, they had found ſome Inconveniencies, by the ſtrict Limitations of the Governor and Council, to proceed according to their Inſtructions out of *England*. For in ſo far a Diſtance, and imperfect Knowledge of the Country, thoſe things might ſeem good in Advice, which might happen to prove very inconvenient in Execution; neither was it fit, that any main Project ſhould be ſet on Foot, which had not firſt Approbation from hence. They conceived, the preſent ſhort Continuance of Governors to be very diſadvantageous to the Colony. The firſt Year, they were raw and unexperienced in the Country, and for the moſt part in ill Diſpoſition of Health, through the Change of Climate; the ſecond, they began to underſtand ſomething of the Affairs of the Colony; and the third, they were providing to return. But above all, they made it their moſt humble Requeſt to their Lordſhips,

Lordſhips, that they might ſtill retain the Liberty of their General Aſſemblies; than which nothing could more conduce, to the publick Satisfaction, and publick Utility. 1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THESE two were ſigned by almoſt the ſame Perſons as the former; and I cannot but obſerve, to the immortal Honour of Sir *Francis Wyat*, that he was ſo far from deſiring the Tyranny of an abſolute Authority, that he was moſt ſtrenuous and active, and joined very cordially in all theſe Petitions and Repreſentations, for reſtraining the exorbitant Power of Governors. All theſe things were carried, in the Aſſembly, with the utmoſt Unanimity and Diſpatch; and they were kept ſecret from the Commiſſioners, whom they found to be in other Intereſts, and to have quite different Views from themſelves. For, having at firſt promiſed to communicate all their Repreſentations and Papers to the Governor and Aſſembly, expecting the like Favour from them, they afterwards ſtood off, and indeed abſolutely refuſed to let them know any thing they were doing; under Pretence, that the Lords of the Privy Council ought to have the firſt View of what they intended to preſent. Whereupon the Governor and Aſſembly, ſuſpecting ſome ſiniſter Deſigns, endeavoured to conceal from the Commiſſioners what was paſſing among them. But Mr. *Pory*, a Tool of Power, and verſed in Corruption, by the Promiſe of a Reward, obtained Copies of all theſe Writings from *Edward Sharples*, Clerk of the Council; and altho' Captain *Harvey* had no Hand in corrupting him, he afterwards promiſed him fifty Pounds of Tobacco, in Reward of his Treachery. This *Sharples* had been entertained, by the late Mr. Secretary *Davidſon*, as a Writer in his Office; and after the Secretary's Death, which happened towards the laſt of the former Year, he was admitted, far above his Condition and Deſert, Clerk of the Council, and took an Oath (a Copy whereof is ſtill extant in our Records) to deliver no Copies of any Papers or Writings, without the Governor's Leave. Wherefore I find, at a Court held the 10th of *May* following, as it appeared by ſufficient Evidence, and by his own Confeſſion, that he, being ſworn Clerk of the Council of State, had betrayed their Councils to the Commiſſioners, he was ſentenced to ſtand in the Pillory, and there to have his Ears nailed to it, and cut off. However, he was only juſt ſet on the Pillory, and loſt a Piece of one of his Ears. A Letter was alſo ſent by the Governor and Council to the Company, to inform them of his Crime and his Puniſhment; and to complain of Mr. *Pory*'s Subornation of him, that they, underſtanding his double Dealing, might thence be upon their Guard, and prevent his corrupt Practices. But

1624. it was now too late for the Company to do any thing in it. For such a mean and prostitute Instrument of their Aims and Designs, as *Pory*, had long before this more Power and Interest at Court, and was likely to be more regarded, than all the noble, great, and worthy Members of the Company.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

BUT the Commissioners, finding, that things were going in the Assembly quite contrary to their Hopes and Desires, resolved to lay some of their Powers before them, which might probably intimidate and influence them, and restrain them from proceeding with so much Sharpness and Vigor. They therefore opened some Part of their Commission to the Assembly, on the 24th of *February*. A Week after, they wrote them a Letter, importing: That they supposed, in a Week's Time, since their publishing the Orders of the Lords of the Privy Council, the Assembly could not but have maturely considered the same: That therefore, for the speedier Advancement of the Colony in general, and for the securing every Man's Interest in particular; and that they might all, by Submission and Thankfulness, as by Obedience and Sacrifice both together, ingratiate themselves and their common Cause to his Majesty's renowned Clemency, They, as Remembrancers, thought it no less than their Duty, to propose to their Consideration the Form enclosed; which, they hoped, they would apprehend very fit to be subscribed by the whole Assembly, it being no other, than what they themselves would, most readily, and most humbly, set their Hands unto. The Form proposed was, as follows.

WHEREAS we understand by three Acts of Council in England, *lately published in this General Assembly, that his Majesty hath signified his gracious Pleasure, for the universal Good of this Plantation, which by reason of our late Calamities is in an unsettled State, to institute another Form of Government, whereby the Colony may be upheld, and prosper the better in time to come, and to that End hath required a Surrendry of the present Patents, declaring his Royal Intention, to secure to the particular Members of the Company such Lands and Privileges in the said Country, as, according to the Proportion of each Man's Adventure and private Interest, shall be found due unto him; We of this General Assembly do, by Subscription of our Names, not only profess and testify our Thankfulness, for that his Majesty's most gracious and tender Care over us, but do moreover, for our Parts, in all Humility and Willingness, submit ourselves to his princely Pleasure, of revoking our old Charters, and of vouchsafing his new*

new Letters-patent, to thoſe noble Ends and Purpoſes, above-mentioned.

1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THUS to draw the General Aſſembly to ſurrender and petition for a Revocation of their Charters, which the Courts in *England* would by no means ſubmit to, was certainly a very crafty and effectual Way, to diſgrace the Company, and to make the Colony ſeem diſaffected to them, and willing to throw off their Yoke; and would alſo have given ſome Colour to their violent Suppreſſion afterwards. But the Aſſembly ſeems fully to have underſtood their Aim, and even to ſuſpect, that this was Part of their Errand and Inſtructions from *England*. For in their Anſwer, they endeavoured to draw from them, by what Authority they made ſuch a Propoſal, and ſaid; As they could not ſee, how this Propoſition had any Ground in the Inſtructions, they had yet ſeen, they deſired, before the Aſſembly returned an Anſwer, that the Commiſſioners would ſhew them the Depth of their Authority; or otherwiſe ſet it down under their Hands, that they had no further Commiſſions or Inſtructions, which might concern them.

BUT this Anſwer gave the Commiſſioners great Offence, and drew from them a very fierce and menacing Reply: That they had acknowledged, in delivering their Papers, that they had neither Commiſſion nor Inſtruction, to move them to ſubſcribe the Form propoſed; neither could the leaſt Shadow of any ſuch thing be collected from their Letter: That what they had propoſed, was out of their Diſcretion, as wholeſome Counſel for the Good of the Colony; neither was it precipitate or ſudden, but proper to the Time, Occaſion, and Perſons: That the Mark, aimed at, was no leſs than his Majeſty's Favour upon their Perſons and common Cauſe, to be obtained by Obedience and Thankfulneſs: That as there needed neither Commiſſion nor Inſtruction, for them to propound the Practice of ſo eminent a Duty, ſo it was lawful for them, as being Freemen and Planters, to offer to the General Aſſembly any reaſonable Motion, tho' of far leſs Conſequence; and had they not vouchſafed to return an Anſwer, they might juſtly have ſeemed diſcontented, or at leaſt diſcourteous: That they had no Reaſon, upon this Occaſion, to ſearch into the Depth of their Authority (ſince their Motion depended not, nor needed to depend, on their particular Commiſſion) much leſs, to urge them to ſet down any thing under their Hands: That they could not profeſs, that they had no farther Commiſſions, which might concern them, beſides that already put in Execution; for their Commiſſions, yet unperformed, con-

1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

cerned them in their Houſes, Perſons, Servants, Corn, Cattle, Arms, *&c.* That however they need not ſuſpect, that they would attempt any thing to any Man's Wrong, or which they could not very well anſwer.

To this the Aſſembly calmly replied: That they had already preſented their humbleſt Thanks to his Majeſty, for his gracious Care of them; and had returned their Anſwer to the Lords of the Privy Council: That when their Aſſent to the Surrendry of their Charters ſhould be required by Authority, it would then be the moſt proper Time to make a Reply: But in the mean while, they conceived, his Majeſty's Intention to change the Government had proceeded from wrong Information; which, they hoped, would be altered upon their more faithful Declarations. But the better to enable them to take a View of the Plantations, and to render an exact Account of the State of the Colony, the Aſſembly ordered, upon the Commiſſioners Application for their Aſſiſtance, that the ſeveral Plantations ſhould tranſport them from Plantation to Plantation, as they ſhould deſire; and ſhould accommodate them in the beſt Manner, their Houſes and Rooms would afford. The Commiſſioners alſo made the Aſſembly four Propoſitions; concerning the beſt Places of Fortification and Defence; the State of the Colony, with Reſpect to the Savages; the Hopes, that might be really and truly conceived of the Plantation; and the propereſt Means, to attain thoſe Hopes: To all which the Aſſembly gave full and particular Anſwers. And I cannot but remark, that Captain *Matthews*, who had joined with the General Aſſembly in their publick Acts and Repreſentations againſt the former Government, did likewiſe join with the Commiſſioners in all theſe Proceedings: Whether he was brought over by the almighty Force and irreſiſtable Allurement of private Advantage; or whether he thought himſelf obliged to do ſomething in Conjunction with them, as he was included in the ſame Commiſſion.

THE Laws of this Aſſembly conſiſted of thirty five Articles. For that Manner (taken, I preſume, from the Articles, ſent over by Sir *Thomas Smith*) was at this time, and continued long after, the uſual Way of drawing up and enacting their Laws; which indeed had this Good in it, that all tedious Forms were thereby cut off, and the main Senſe and Subſtance of their Acts appeared at once, in clear and preciſe Terms. As theſe Laws are the oldeſt, that I can now find upon our Records, and as they contain ſome things of eſpecial Note, I ſhall here preſent them to the Reader.

THE

1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THE firſt ſeven related to the Church and Miniſty, and enacted: That in every Plantation, where the People were wont to meet for the Worſhip of God, there ſhould be a Houſe, or Room, ſet apart for that Purpoſe, and not converted to any temporal Uſe whatſoever; and that a Place ſhould be empaled and ſequeſtered, only for the Burial of the Dead: That whoſoever ſhould abſent himſelf from Divine Service any *Sunday*, without an allowable Excuſe, ſhould forfeit a Pound of Tobacco, and that he, who abſented himſelf a Month, ſhould forfeit fifty Pounds of Tobacco: That there ſhould be an Uniformity in the Church, as near as might be, both in Subſtance and Circumſtance, to the Canons of the Church of *England*; and that all Perſons ſhould yield a ready Obedience to them, upon Pain of Cenſure: That the 22d of *March* (the Day of the Maſſacre) ſhould be ſolemniſed and kept holy; and that all other Holidays ſhould be obſerved, except when two fell together in the Summer Seaſon (the Time of their Working and Crop) when the firſt only was to be obſerved, by reaſon of their Neceſſities and Employment: That no Miniſter ſhould be abſent from his Cure, above two Months in the whole Year, upon Penalty of forfeiting half his Salary; and whoſoever was abſent above four Months, ſhould forfeit his whole Salary and his Cure: That whoſoever ſhould diſparage a Miniſter, without ſufficient Proof to juſtify his Reports, whereby the Minds of his Pariſhioners might be alienated from him, and his Miniſtry prove the leſs effectual, ſhould not only pay five hundred Pounds of Tobacco, but ſhould alſo aſk the Miniſter Forgiveneſs, publickly in the Congregation: That no Man ſhould diſpoſe of any of his Tobacco, before the Miniſter was ſatisfied, upon Forfeiture of double his Part towards the Salary; and that one Man of every Plantation ſhould be appointed, to collect the Miniſter's Salary, out of the firſt and beſt Tobacco and Corn.

THE eighth and ninth Articles related to the Governor's Power: That he ſhould not lay any Taxes or Impoſitions upon the Colony, their Lands, or Commodities, otherwiſe than by the Authority of the General Aſſembly; to be levied and employed, as the ſaid Aſſembly ſhould appoint: That he ſhould not withdraw the Inhabitants from their private Labours to any Service of his own, under any Colour whatſoever; and if the publick Service ſhould require the Employment of many Hands, before another General Aſſembly met to give Order for the ſame, in that Caſe, the levying Men ſhould be done, by the Order of the Governor and whole Body of the Council; and that in ſuch Sort, as to be leaſt burthenſome to the People, and

moſt

1624.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

moſt free from Partiality. Thus early was the Aſſembly, out of the Memory of their paſt Miſeries and Oppreſſions, ſtudious and careful to eſtabliſh our Liberties; and we had here, by the ready Concurrence and Co-operation of this excellent Governor, a *Petition of Right* paſſed, above four Years, before that Matter was indubitably ſettled and explained in *England*. For theſe two Articles contain the ſame in Effect, as that famous explanatory and fundamental Law of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution; *viz.* The firm Property of the Subjects Goods and Eſtates, and the Liberty of their Perſons.

THE other Articles enacted: That all the old Planters, who were here before, or came in at the laſt Arrival of Sir *Thomas Gates* (in *Auguſt* 1611.) ſhould both themſelves and their Poſterity, except ſuch as were employed to command in Chief, be exempted from their perſonal Service in the Wars, and from all other publick Charges (Church Duties only excepted) but without the like Exemption of their Servants and Families: That no Burgeſs of the General Aſſembly ſhould be arreſted, during the ſitting of the Aſſembly, and a Week before and Week after; upon Pain of the Creditor's forfeiting his Debt, and ſuch Puniſhment upon the Officer, as the Court ſhould award: That there ſhould be Courts kept once a Month, in the Corporations of *Charles-City* and *Eliſabeth-City*, for deciding Suits and Controverſies, not exceeding the Value of one hundred Pounds of Tobacco, and for puniſhing petty Offences; and that the Commanders of the Places, with ſuch others, as the Governor and Council ſhould appoint by Commiſſion, ſhould be Judges, the Commanders to be of the *Quorum*, and Sentence given by Majority of Voices; with Reſervation nevertheleſs of Appeal, after Sentence, to the Governor and Council; and that whoſoever appealed and was caſt upon ſuch Appeal, ſhould pay double Damages: That every private Planter's Dividend of Land ſhould be ſurveyed and laid off ſeparately, and the Bounds recorded by the Surveyor, who ſhould have ten Pounds of Tobacco for every hundred Acres ſurveyed; and that all petty Differences, between Neighbours about their Bounds, ſhould be decided by the Surveyor, but if of Importance, referred to the Governor and Council: That, for the People's Encouragement to plant Store of Corn, the Price ſhould be left free, and every Man might ſell it, as dear as he could: (For the Governor and Council did then, and long afterwards, ſet a Rate Yearly upon all Commodities, with Penalties upon thoſe, who exceeded it) That there ſhould be a publick Granery in each Pariſh, to which every Planter,

above

above eighteen Years of Age, who had been in the Country a Year, and was alive at the Crop, ſhould contribute a Barrel of Corn, to be diſpoſed of, for the publick Uſes of the Pariſh, by the major Part of the Freemen; the Remainder to be taken out by the Owners, Yearly on St. *Thomas*'s Day, and the new brought and put in it's Room: That three capable Men, of every Pariſh, ſhould be ſworn, to ſee, that every Man planted and tended Corn ſufficient for his Family; and that thoſe, who neglected ſo to do, ſhould be preſented by the ſaid three Men, to the Cenſure of the Governor and Council: That all Trade with the *Indians* for Corn, as well publick as private, ſhould be prohibited, after the *June* following: That every Freeman ſhould fence in a Quarter of an Acre of Ground, before the *Whitſuntide* next enſuing, for planting Vines, Herbs, Roots, and the like, under the Penalty of ten Pounds of Tobacco a Man; but that no Man, for his own Family, ſhould be obliged to fence above an Acre; and that whoſoever had fenced a Garden, and was outed of the Land, ſhould be paid for it by the Owner of the Soil; and that they ſhould alſo plant Mulberry Trees: That the Proclamations againſt Swearing and Drunkenneſs, ſet forth by the Governor and Council, were ratified by this Aſſembly; and it was farther ordered, that the Churchwardens ſhould be ſworn, to preſent all Offenders, to the Commanders of their reſpective Plantations; and that they ſhould collect the Forfeitures for publick Uſes: That a Proclamation ſhould be read aboard every Ship, and afterwards fixed to the Maſt, prohibiting them, without ſpecial Order from the Governor and Council, to break Bulk, or make private Sale of any Commodities, till they came up to *James-City*: That the ancient Rates of Commodities ſhould be ſtill in Force; and that Men ſhould be ſworn, in every Plantation, to cenſure the Tobacco: (So old are the firſt Rudiments of our Tobacco-Law; which nevertheleſs, after ſuch long Experience, raiſed much Oppoſition and Diſturbance:) That there ſhould be no Weights or Meaſures uſed, but ſuch as were ſealed, by Officers appointed for that Purpoſe: That every Dwelling-houſe ſhould be Paliſadoed in, for Defence againſt the *Indians*: That no Man ſhould go, or ſend abroad, without a ſufficient Party, well armed: That Men ſhould not go to Work, without their Arms and a Sentinel ſet: That the Inhabitants of the Plantations ſhould not go on board Ships, or upon any other Occaſion, in ſuch Numbers, as thereby to weaken and endanger the Plantation: That the Commander of every Plantation ſhould take Care, that there be ſufficient of Powder and Ammunition within his Plantation; and that their Pieces

1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

Pieces be fixed, and Arms compleat: That there be ſufficient Watch kept, every Night: That no Commander of any Plantation ſhould either ſpend himſelf, or ſuffer others to ſpend Powder unneceſſarily, in Drinking, Entertainments, and the like: That ſuch Perſons of Condition, as were found delinquent in their Duty, and were not fit to undergo corporal Puniſhment, might notwithſtanding be impriſoned at the Diſcretion of the Commander, and for greater Offences be ſubject to a Fine, inflicted by the Monthly Court; ſo that it did not exceed the Value aboveſaid: That every Perſon who had not found a Man at the Caſtle (then building at *Warraſqueake*) ſhould pay, for himſelf and Servants, five Pounds of Tobacco a Head, towards defraying the Charge of thoſe, who had their Servants there: That, at the Beginning of *July* following, every Corporation ſhould fall upon their adjoining *Indians*; and that thoſe who ſhould be hurt upon the Service, ſhould be cured at the publick Expence; and if any were lamed, they ſhould be maintained by the Country, according to their Perſon and Quality: That for diſcharging ſuch publick Debts, as their Troubles had brought upon them, there ſhould be levied ten Pounds of Tobacco upon every Male, above ſixteen Years of Age, then living; but not including ſuch, as had arrived ſince the Beginning of *July* laſt: That no Perſon, within this Colony, ſhould preſume, upon the Rumour of any ſuppoſed Change and Alteration in *England*, to be diſobedient to the preſent Government, nor Servants to their private Maſters, Officers, or Overſeers, at their utmoſt Peril. And the laſt Article related to ſending Mr. *Pountis* to *England*, and levying four Pounds of Tobacco a Head, to ſupport his Expences. Moſt of theſe Laws were taken from preceeding Proclamations and Orders of the Governor and Council; and I find, that the Governor was obliged, ſoon after, to iſſue a Proclamation, forbidding Women to contract themſelves to two ſeveral Men at one time. For Women being yet ſcarce and much in requeſt, this Offence was become very common; whereby great Diſquiet aroſe between Parties, and no ſmall Trouble to the Government. It was therefore ordered; That every Miniſter ſhould give Notice in his Church, that what Man or Woman ſoever ſhould uſe any Word or Speech, tending to a Contract of Marriage, to two ſeveral Perſons at one time, altho' not preciſe and legal, yet ſo as might entangle or breed Scruple in their Conſciences, ſhould, for ſuch their Offence, either undergo corporal Correction, or be puniſhed by Fine, or otherwiſe, according to the Quality of the Perſon ſo offending.

But

1624.

BUT whilſt the Commiſſioners were puſhing the Court Deſigns in *Virginia*, the opponent Faction in *England* were not leſs diligent and induſtrious to blacken and defame the Company. To this end, they engaged, according to their uſual Method, ſome Planters, lately returned from *Virginia*, to petition and complain to his Majeſty. Neither was it a difficult thing, among ſo many weak, indigent, or wicked Perſons, as were concerned in the Plantations, to procure ſome to ſecond and abet any Complaint, however falſe and unjuſt. Among other Matters of Grievance, they complained of the many Impoſitions and Levies, laid upon the Planters towards the Support of the Company, from whom they were wont formerly to receive Relief; and therefore they beſought his Majeſty, to take them into his Royal Mercy and Protection, and to free them for the future from the grievous Impoſitions of the ſaid Company. But Mr. Deputy *Farrar* deſired them, to ſet down in Writing the particular Grievances and Oppreſſions, which they thus complained of in general; that the Company might thereby be enabled to return a full and particular Anſwer. This they promiſed to do, but afterwards, upon better Advice, refuſed; till at length, being farther preſſed, they brought nine Articles, which however they could not be induced to ſubſcribe, being reſtrained by thoſe behind the Scene. Theſe Articles contained criminal Charges of a very high Nature, and ſome of them Capital, againſt the Governor and Council in *Virginia*; ſo that the Lawyers of the Company declared, that the Perſons who preſented them, except they could maintain and make them good, had incurred the Penalty of Libellers. But at laſt, after much Shuffling and Abſurdity of Complaint and Accuſation, the Complainants in general, and one *Perry* in particular, confeſſed, that altho' they pretended to have Authority and Commiſſion from the Planters in *Virginia* to make theſe Complaints, yet the Whole, both the Petition and Grievances, were entirely framed in *England*. Wherefore the Company, perceiving, they had been abuſed and drawn into it by the Malice of others, thought fit to paſs it over, in Favour and Compaſſion to their Ignorance and Credulity.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

UPON Occaſion of theſe grievous Accuſations againſt the Governor and Council, Sir *Francis Wyat*'s Character and Conduct were called much into Queſtion and canvaſſed. But he was ſufficiently cleared by the reſt of the Planters then in *England*; who gave ample Teſtimony to the Worthineſs and Uprightneſs of his Proceedings, and declared upon their Conſciences, that they eſteemed him to be a moſt juſt and ſincere Gentleman, and free from all Manner of Cor-

1624. Corruption and private Ends. As therefore he had, by a Letter to the Company, declared his Desire to leave the Government at the Expiration of his Commission, which would be shortly, they took the Matter into their serious Consideration. But finding, that he had given very great Satisfaction to the Colony, as appeared by the Report of the Planters; and considering also, how much the Company was in his Debt, by not furnishing him with his legal Number of Tenants, and that they had no Means left to make good their Promise to him, much less were they able to set out a new Governor, it was thought best and most adviseable, to continue him still in his Office. But some of the opponent Faction moving, that Sir *Samuel Argall*, in Regard of his Worth, and of his Desire for the Place, might stand in Election with him, they were both ballotted; and Sir *Francis Wyat* was chosen by having sixty nine Balls, and Sir *Samuel Argall* only eight. And as the Company was then unable to send over more Men to him, it was ordered, that he should be supplied with his full Complement, out of the Company's Tenants in *Virginia*; and the Consideration of some Recompence, for his former Loss and Disappointment, was referred to the next Quarter Court.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THE last Parliament, out of their Love and Esteem for *Virginia*, but more especially out of Regard to the Advancement of the Trade of *England*, had taken into their Consideration the Case of the Plantation Tobacco, and had entered into a very good Course about it; but by Reason of their sudden Adjournment and Breach with the King, they were obliged to leave it unfinished. The Company therefore, being encouraged by this, and quite wearied out by the equivocal and suspicious Conduct of the King and his Ministers, presented a Petition to the House of Commons, setting forth:

THAT after divers Discoveries had confirmed the Opinion, that *Virginia* was situate in a temperate and wholsome Climate, that the Soil was rich and fertile, the Country well watered with fruitful and navigable Rivers, and that their Ships, through a fair Sea, might have a comfortable falling in on a safe Coast, it pleased God so to affect the Minds of divers worthily disposed Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, as to think it a Matter of great Religion and Honour, to endeavour the Propagation of Christianity among those barbarous People, and to gain such a hopeful Addition of Territory to his Majesty's Dominions: That his Majesty also, being informed thereof, and apprehending, that great Honour and Commodity would thence arise to this Kingdom, was pleased, by his most gracious Letters-patent

of

of Incorporation, from time to time renewed and enlarged, to confer as ample Privileges and Immunities, both for their Assistance, who should become Directors of the Business at home, and for their Comfort and Encouragement, that would settle and inhabit the Country, as could be then foreseen or desired: That this gave so general an Encouragement, that Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, and others, in great Numbers, became Adventurers; who, besides their Money, afforded many other Helps by their Industry, towards the Advancement and Perfection of this noble Work: And that, notwithstanding a Multitude of Accidents and Disasters, incident to such Undertakings in a remote and savage Country, yet it pleased God, often to enliven their Hopes and Endeavours, by such an undoubted Probability of obtaining, at least for the Publick and Posterity, so beneficial a Retribution for all their Pains and Expence, as would, in the End, crown their Labours with as much Glory, Honour, and Profit to the Realm of *England*, as could be well wished or expected. 1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THEY then proceeded to recount the several Emoluments and Advantages to *England*, which they had in their View and Expectation. 1. The Conversion of the Savages to *Christianity*, and establishing the first Colony of the Reformed Religion. 2. The discharging the Overplus of necessitous People, which administered Fewel to dangerous Insurrections, and the leaving greater Plenty for those, who remained. 3. The gaining a large Territory, already known to be great, and which might prove much greater; whose Fertility of Soil, and Temperature of Clime, agreed well with the *English*, and produced by Nature and Industry, whatever useful Commodities were found in any known Country. 4. The beneficial Fisheries discovered; which, together with the continual Intercourse and Commerce between People of the same Nation, would contribute exceedingly to the Increase of the *English* Trade and Navigation. 5. The vast Quantity of Timber and Materials, for building and setting forth Ships; whereof there was a great Scarcity throughout all *Europe*. 6. The Assurance, that many rich Trades might be found out there, and driven on to the incredible Benefit of the Nation; besides the no small Hopes of an easy and short Passage to the *South* Sea, either by Sea or Land. 7. The inestimable Advantage, that would be gained, in Case of War, both for the easy assaulting the *Spanish West-Indies*, and for the relieving and succouring all Ships and Men of War; the Want whereof had in former times, disappointed and overthrown so many Voyages. But hereby the Benefit to the

English

1624. *Engliſh* would be certain, and the Enemy's Loſs and Annoyance inevitable. After which, they went on in the following Manner:

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

BUT ſo it is, that now, when the natural Difficulties, incident to all new Plantations, are by Diligence and Tract of Time, but moſt eſpecially by the Bleſſing of Almighty God, in a great Meaſure overcome; yet there have riſen other unnatural Impediments, proceeding from Faction and Diſcord, from the cunning Courſes and Practiſes of ſome Perſons, who tended wholly to their own Profit, from Miſemployment of the publick Stock, falſe Accounts, and the like Corruptions and Diverſions from the main Buſineſs; and that theſe were ſo encreaſed of late, and ſupported by ſtrong Hand, as threatened ſpeedy Ruin and Deſtruction to that excellent Work, if Remedies were not timely applied: That they, the Council and Company of *Virginia*, differed not a little from other Companies; as well in their Compoſition, conſiſting of principal Noblemen, Gentlemen, Merchants and others; as in the Ends, for which they were eſtabliſhed, being not ſimply for Matter of Trade, but for things of a higher and more publick Nature: That nevertheleſs, finding themſelves, in their Body, as it was then diſtempered, unable to be their own Phyſicians without higher Aſſiſtance, they thought it their Duty, as well to clear their own Reputation, as in Diſcharge of their Conſcience, and of the Truſt repoſed in them, to repreſent to the Parliament this Child of the Nation, expoſed, as in the Wilderneſs, to extreme Danger, and then fainting, as it were, and labouring for Life.

THEY therefore humbly entreated that honourable Houſe, to take into their Commiſeration, the diſtreſſed Colony and oppreſſed Company; and to receive an Account from ſuch of his Majeſty's Council for *Virginia*, as, being Members of their Houſe, had been appointed by the Company, to give them a full and exact Relation of all their Grievances and Oppreſſions: Which, tho' of ſundry Kinds, yet had received (as they doubted not to make evident) either their Original or Strength from the Lord High Treaſurer, out of his private and unjuſt Deſigns; not only to almoſt the Overthrow of the Colony, but alſo to the Deception of his Majeſty in his Profit and Revenue, to the great Prejudice of the whole Kingdom in Matter of Trade, and even to Points of dangerous Conſequence to the Liberty of the Subject.

THIS Proceeding was certainly no ways grateful to the King, who conceived himſelf much injured and affronted, if the Parliament entered upon any Conſideration, which

1624.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

was not recommended to them by himself. For he looked upon them, not as the grand Council of the Nation, but of the King; and expected, that they should proceed with the abject Adulation and Submission of his Privy Council, and never touch upon any disagreeable Subjects. But above all, Matters of Grievance were the Points, on which he was most tender and touchy, and would often winch grievously; and altho' the thing was disguised, and even Praises were given him in some Parts of this Petition, yet it was evidently levelled, in the main, against him and his Ministers. However, as his Majesty had called this Parliament with quite different Views, and treated it in a quite different Manner from the last, he took no Notice of it, but permitted it to take its Course in the House. Its Reception was also secured by the Complaints, in the latter Part, against the Lord High Treasurer; whom *Buckingham* and the Prince were, at this time, pulling down and tearing, as it were, with great Violence from the King's Side, not without very great Pain and Grief to his Majesty.

THIS Petition was committed to the Deputy, and such others of the Council, as were also Members of the House of Commons; to present it to their House, in the Name of the Council and Company of *Virginia*. It was received by the Commons very acceptably, notwithstanding some Opposition at first; and a Committee was appointed to hear and examine their Grievances and Oppressions, to which all of the Company, that were Members of the House, were admitted, to come and to hear, but not to have any Voice. But conceiving, that Counsel at Law could not be so fully informed of all Passages, as was requisite, and would not perhaps be so cordially concerned, or favourably heard, they divided their Grievances into four several Heads, and committed them to the following Gentlemen, to deliver and speak to them. 1. The Case of their Tobacco, with all the Oppressions and Impositions upon it, was committed to Mr. Deputy-Treasurer, *Nicholas Farrar*: 2. The Business of the Contract, to Sir *Edwin Sandys*: 3. The Proceedings of the Commissioners, to the Lord *Cavendish*: 4. All Passages and Measures since, to Sir *John Davers*. And all these Gentlemen, but especially the Lord *Cavendish*, did very nobly and chearfully undertake, to perform and make good their several Parts.

IT was the Misfortune of these Affairs, to be brought into Parliament very late in the Sessions; and they were besides of a very tender and delicate Nature. For, in their Process and Issue, they must have turned to a plain Arraignment of the Weakness and Unfairness, or even of the

1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

downright Injuſtice and Oppreſſiveneſs of the King's Conduct towards the Company and Colony. The main Buſineſs therefore of their Oppreſſions and Grievances did not proceed in Parliament, but was waved and ſlurred over in Silence. But the particular Caſe of Tobacco, by the exceeding Care and Wiſdom of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, aſſiſted by the Lord *Cavendiſh*, and the other Gentlemen of the Company, who had Seats in Parliament, was brought to a happy Iſſue. For the Importation of foreign Tobacco was put, as one of the nine Grievances of the Realm in Point of Trade, which this Seſſion preſented to his Majeſty, and deſired Reliefin. And altho' this was done profeſſedly for the Good of *England*, without any Mention or Relation to *Virginia*, yet the Deputy told the Company, that he doubted not, but the whole Houſe had, in their Hearts, an eſpecial Regard to the Advancement of the Colonies. And as this Courſe was as effectual for Excluſion of *Spaniſh* Tobacco, as if it had been done by Bill, ſo was it much better, than if it had been done by the Bill, which was drawn the laſt Parliament. For ſince that Time, the State and Price of Tobacco was ſo much altered, that it could then no ways bear the twelve Pence a Pound Duty, which that Bill laid upon it, but muſt thereby have been as certainly ruined and overthrown, as by any other Courſe. But this ſecond Way brought with it all the Good of the Bill, and left out all its Evil. Wherefore, he ſaid, it could not be too much commended, nor Sir *Edwin Sandys*, to whom they were beholden for it, ſufficiently thanked. And it may be here farther obſerved, that the King's Meaſures by this time were entirely reverſed. For the *Spaniſh* Match was now broke off, and even War was declared againſt the King of *Spain*, and the whole Houſe of *Auſtria*. So that the Intereſt of *England* would no longer be obliged to ſtoop to the Intereſt of *Spain*; and a Prohibition of their Tobacco would be eaſily granted, as it agreed with the preſent Paſſions and Meaſures of the Court.

THIS was the laſt Service that Sir *Edwin Sandys*, or the Company, were able to do the Colony and Trade. For ſoon after, Captain *Harvey* and Mr. *Pory*, the Privy Council's Commiſſioners, returned from *Virginia*. What their Report was of the State of the Colony, I cannot diſcover; but we may eaſily judge, by the Principles and Diſpoſitions of the Men, that it was not much to the Honour or Advantage of the preſent Government. Upon their Return therefore, his Majeſty was pleaſed, by a Proclamation bearing Date the 15th of *July*, 1624, to ſuppreſs the Courſe of their Courts at Deputy *Farrar's*. And for the preſent Ordering

of

of the Affairs of the Colony, 'till a fuller and more perfect Settlement of them could be made, the Lord Preſident of his Majeſty's Privy Council, with other Privy Counſellors, and ſeveral Knights and Gentlemen, were appointed to meet, every *Thurſday* in the Afternoon, at Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Houſe, in *Philpot*-Lane; whither all Perſons, whom it might concern, were ordered to repair. And thus Sir *Thomas Smith* triumphed over the Companies and the Colonies; and notwithſtanding the authentic Repreſentations of the Company in *England*, and our General Aſſembly here againſt him, and the plain Detection of his Cruelties and Oppreſſions, to all Men of common Senſe and common Juſtice, yet he did at laſt recover his Power again, and was the Perſon chiefly depended upon, by the *Solomon* of that Age, in all Matters relating to them. For the *Somer-Iſlands* Courts had been ſuppreſſed ſome Months before, by a ſimple Letter from the King; and Meetings appointed, at Sir *Thomas Smith*'s, for the Management of their Affairs. But theſe Meetings were without the Mixture of any Privy Counſellors, and wholly conſiſted of himſelf and his Creatures. And by this time, in the Abſence of Sir *Edward Sackvil*, now Earl of *Dorſet*, their Governor, who had, the Year before, ſucceeded the Lord *Cavendiſh*, now alſo Earl of *Devonſhire*, and under Colour of ſome Complaints and Diſſentions, the Lords of the Privy Council appointed Sir *Thomas Smith* again Governor of that Company; aſſuming to themſelves a boundleſs Power of placing and diſplacing legal Officers, as they pleaſed. This Appointment, Captain *Smith* tells us, was afterwards confirmed, and Sir *Thomas Smith* elected by the Court. But this Court was only his Faction, who aſſumed to themſelves that Name and Character. For I find, that many of the Company, and as it appears, a vaſt Majority, complained of them, and declared againſt their Meetings, as Uſurpations upon the Government of the Company, and no ways legal or valid. 1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

THIS was the End of the *Virginia* Company; one of the nobleſt, moſt illuſtrious, and publick-ſpirited Societies, that ever yet perhaps engaged in ſuch an Undertaking. It was an Event certainly of Benefit and Advantage to the Country, as we in *America* find by Experience, that it is better to be under a Royal Government, than in the Hands of Proprietors, in what Shape or Manner ſoever. But yet it muſt be at laſt confeſſed, that it was brought about with all imaginable Inſtances of Unrighteouſneſs and Oppreſſion; and that not even the Decency of Forms of Law were kept up or regarded in it. For altho' a Writ of *Quo Warranto* (an oppreſſive Writ in itſelf, and for the moſt part turned

1624. to very base and illegal Purposes) was issued against the Company, yet I cannot understand, altho' I have taken no small Pains to find it out, that it ever came to an Issue or Determination. And to dissolve them by the arbitrary Authority of a Proclamation, whilst a legal Process was depending, seems but a more bare-faced Injustice and Oppression. Far the greater Part of the Company did, by no means, deserve such Treatment. They appear, from all the Papers and Records that I have perused, to have been Gentlemen of very noble, clear, and disinterested Designs; who, as they were above the Necessity of any Access to their own Fortunes, were willing and intent to spend much of their Time and Money, in advancing an Undertaking, which they justly conceived to be of very great Consequence to their Country. And even Captain *Smith*, who was certainly no Friend to the Company, and whose History seems much in Honour and Vindication of Sir *Thomas Smith* and his Government, yet owns, that scarce any of the Nobility and Gentry expected or aimed at any thing else, but the Prosperity of the Action: And he was confidently persuaded, that some Merchants, and others, took more Care and Pains, even at their own continual great Charge, than they could be hired to, for the Love of Money; so honestly regarding the general Good of the Enterprise, that they would hold it worse than Sacrilege, to wrong it but a Shilling, or to extort a Penny upon the common People.

Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

It may indeed be thought something strange, how so many Gentlemen, of the noblest Fortunes and most publick Spirits in the Nation, could so patiently submit to such evident Injury and Wrong, without bringing the Matter to a legal Trial. But they had been much harrassed and fatigued of late, by the Discords and Factions in the Company; which, they plainly saw, were supported and abetted by the King, for some unjust and partial Views of his own, being much charmed with the unexpectedly large and rising Revenue from Tobacco, and therefore desirous to get the Plantations wholly into his own Hands. They had also expended largely above an hundred thousand Pounds, out of their own private Fortunes, without any probable Prospect of present Retribution or Gain to themselves; and they could not but see, that proceeding in the Enterprise would still engage them in farther Expences, for which they would only be exposed to the Abuses and Affronts of the opponent Faction, and to Injuries and Oppressions from the King and his Council. They might also consider perhaps the State of the Courts of Law at that time, which could give them but slender Hopes of obtaining any Redress there. For the Judges

Judges and Oracles of Law are greatly wronged and abuſed, if they were not then, like the lying Oracle of old, much addicted to *philippizing*, and willing to raiſe the Royal Prerogative above all Reſtraints of Law, or of any other earthly Power. Their original Records, on which their Proofs muſt chiefly depend, had likewiſe been taken from them by the Privy Council. And the Earl of *Southampton*, who had all their Eyes and Hearts fixed upon him, after languiſhing ſome time, and having firſt loſt his eldeſt Son, the Lord *Wriothſley*, died this following Winter 1624. To which may be added, that the Succeſs of the Colonies was ſtill doubtful, without the King's Favour and Protection; or at leaſt againſt his Will, and the perpetual Stretch of his Power thwarting and oppreſſing them. They therefore ſilently acquieſced and ſubmitted to this illegal Diſſolution; and quietly withdrew from an Affair, which had coſt them ſo much Money and Pains, and had given them ſuch continual Trouble and Vexation.

1624. Sir *Francis Wyat*, Governor.

F I N I S.

ARMY MED. CAL LIBRARY WASHINGTON D.C.

AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

First Part of the

HISTORY

OF

VIRGINIA:

CONTAINING

A Collection of ſuch ancient Charters or Letters Patent, as relate to that Period of Time, and are ſtill extant in our publick Offices in the *Capitol*, or in other authentic Papers and Records.

WILLIAMSBURG: Printed by W. PARKS, M,DCC,XLVII.

THE PREFACE.

OF the two first of the following Charters, I have seen four Copies; one among the oldest Records in the Secretary's Office, much mangled and defaced; another in the Council Office, tolerably legible; a third, in a very fair Book of Records, which belongs, as I take it, to the House of Burgesses Office; and the fourth and most correct, I found among Sir John Randolph's Papers, transcribed by his Clerk, and collated, as I suppose, from different Copies. However, I can venture to assure the Reader, that the Edition, which I here give by the Help of the two last mentioned Copies, is still fuller and more correct than any of them. Of the third Charter I have never met with but one Copy, likewise in Sir John Randolph's Collection of publick Papers. It is pretty correctly transcribed; and I hope, it will be found, with the necessary Emendations, I have made in it, very complete and exact. These are all the King's Charters to the Company, that I have been able to find; although they certainly are not all, he granted. For many things are mentioned in the Company's Records, as drawn from their Charters, which, are nevertheless not to be found in these. But to these Royal Charters I have added a fourth, The Company's Charter and Constitution of a Council of State and a General Assembly; which I found in the above-mentioned Book, belonging to the Clerk's Office of the House of Burgesses. As their Authority for granting it was unquestionable, and as it is of an important Nature, and the first Draught and Foundation of the Constitution of this Colony, I thought, an Edition of it would not be unacceptable to the learned and curious Reader.

I once intended (as Bishop Burnet has done, in a very useful and satisfactory Manner, in his History of the Reformation) to have added several other very curious Papers and original Pieces of Record. But I perceive, to my no small Sur-

Surprise and Mortification, that some of my Countrymen (and those too, Persons of high Fortune and Distinction) seemed to be much alarmed, and to grudge, that a complete History of their own Country would run to more than one Volume, and cost them above half a Pistole. I was therefore obliged to restrain my Hand, and only to insert these few most necessary Instruments, for fear of enhancing the Price, to the immense Charge and irreparable Damage of such generous and publick-spirited Gentlemen.

I thought the Publication of these Charters the more proper, as I conceive, that they have never been legally revoked, and as they contain things of very great Consequence and Concern. For if the Inhabitants and Natives of these Colonies are entitled to all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities of free Denizens and natural Subjects, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the Realm of *England*, or any other of his Majesty's Dominions *(as is expresly declared in Sect.* xv. *of the first, and Sect.* xxii. *of the second Charter) what Room can there be for that slavish Doctrine, which was broached by a Judge of* New-York, *in a criminal Trial, (the Case of Col.* Bayard, *published in the printed Collection of State Trials)* that altho' petitioning the King was no Crime, yet it might be so, to petition the House of Commons in the Plantations, where the King governs by his PREROGATIVE; *a Word always doubtful, equivocal, and suspicious, but to be sure fruitful of Tyranny and of all arbitrary and illegal Oppression, when unfixed and unrestrained by the Law. And what Law in the Plantations can curb the Royal Prerogative, which is said to be as ancient as the Crown of* England *itself, and to be always inherent and inseperable from it? But it is not to be supposed, that that Dragoon of the Long-Robe, and legal Pander to Slavery, had any Thought or Desire, to stop with the Laws the Breach, which he endeavoured to make in the Liberties of the Colonies; or to stay, with old moldering Parchments, the lawless and overwhelming Waves of Prerogative.*

BUT farther: If we have a Right to all the Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities *of* Englishmen, *in vain was the Chicanery of K.* Charles *II, and at last his absolute Refusal, in the Charter which he granted the Colony,* to ratify and confirm the Power and Authority of the Grand Assembly, consisting of the Governor, Council, and Burgesses; *as also to grant and declare,* that no Manner of Impositions or Taxes should be laid on the Colony, but by the common Consent of the Governor, Council, and Burgesses, as had been theretofore used. *For what* Liberty, Franchise, or Im-

Immunity *is dearer or more eſſential to* Engliſhmen, *than to be ſubject to ſuch Laws, as are enacted, and to be liable to no Taxes, but what are laid upon them, by their own Conſent, in a Parliamentary Way? And beſides, it was then too late to abridge the Liberties of our General Aſſemblies, and to keep them in a precarious and dependent State, as that Prince (never a Friend to the Liberties of his People or Mankind, but about that time particularly plunged in arbitrary Schemes and Deſigns) endeavoured to do. For above fifty Years before that, the Company had expreſly eſtabliſhed the General Aſſembly, by the fourth Charter in this Collection, and by a Power immediately derived from the King. And ſuppoſing their own Charters were afterwards legally revoked, yet that (which they granted by his Majeſty's expreſs Authority and Direction, and whilſt their own Powers were in full Force and Validity) will not, I preſume, conſequently fall and be annulled with them.*

THESE, and the like Concluſions, will naturally ariſe from the following Charters. And I therefore hope, I ſhall need no other Reaſon or Apology, for thus giving them to the Publick.

N°. I.

N°. I.

K. James *I.'s Letters Patent to Sir* Thomas Gates, *Sir* George Somers, *and others, for two ſeveral Colonies and Plantations, to be made in* Virginia, *and other Parts and Territories of* America. *Dated* April 10, 1606.

I. JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France,* and *Ireland,* Defender of the Faith, &c. WHEREAS our loving and well-diſpoſed Subjects, Sir *Thomas Gates,* and Sir *George Somers,* Knights, *Richard Hackluit,* Clerk, Prebendary of *Weſtminſter,* and *Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham,* and *Ralegh Gilbert,* Eſqrs. *William Parker,* and *George Popham,* Gentlemen, and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that We would vouchſafe unto them our Licence, to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colony of ſundry of our People into that Part of *America,* commonly called VIRGINIA, and other Parts and Territories in *America,* either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually poſſeſſed by any *Chriſtian* Prince or People, ſituate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coaſts, between four and thirty Degrees of *Northerly* Latitude from the Equinoctial Line, and five and forty Degrees of the ſame Latitude, and in the main Land between the ſame four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, and the Iſlands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred Miles of the Coaſts thereof;

II. AND to that End, and for the more ſpeedy Accompliſhment of their ſaid intended Plantation and Habitation there, are deſirous to divide themſelves into two ſeveral Colonies and Companies; The one conſiſting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our City of *London* and elſewhere, which are, and from time to time ſhall be, joined unto them, which do deſire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in ſome fit and convenient Place, between four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the ſaid Latitude, alongſt the Coaſts of *Virginia* and Coaſts of *America* aforeſaid; And the other conſiſting of ſundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our Cities of *Briſtol* and *Exeter,* and of our Town of *Plimouth,* and of other Places, which do join themſelves unto that Colony, which do deſire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in ſome fit and convenient Place, between eight and thirty Degrees and five and forty Degrees of the ſaid Latitude, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America,* as that Coaſt lyeth:

III. WE, greatly commending, and graciouſly accepting of, their Deſires for the Furtherance of ſo noble a Work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majeſty, in propagating of *Chriſtian* Religion to ſuch

such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government; DO, by these our Letters Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well intended Desires;

IV. AND do therefore, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, that the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, and *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, Adventurers of and for our City of *London*, and all such others, as are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the *first Colony*; And they shall and may begin their said first Plantation and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of *Virginia* or *America*, where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude; And that they shall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty Miles of *English* Statute Measure, all along the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *West* and *Southwest*, as the Coast lyeth, with all the Islands within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Waters, Marshes, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the Space of fifty like *English* Miles, all alongst the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *East* and *Northeast*, or towards the *North*, as the Coast lyeth, together with all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land by the Space of one hundred like *English* Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same, for their better Safeguard and Defence, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that no other of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Backside of them, towards the main Land, without the Express Licence or Consent of the Council of that Colony, thereunto in Writing first had and obtained.

V. AND we do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, GRANT and agree, that the said *Thomas Hanham*, and *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and all others of the Town of *Plimouth* in the County of *Devon*, or elsewhere, which are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the *second Colony*; And that they shall and may begin their said Plantation and Seat of their first Abode and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, where they shall think fit and convenient, between eight and

and thirty Degrees of the said Latitude, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude; And that they shall have all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty like *English* Miles, as is aforesaid, all alongst the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *West* and *South-west*, or towards the *South*, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the Space of fifty like Miles, all alongst the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *East* and *North-east*, or towards the *North*, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands also within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land, by the Space of one hundred like *English* Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same for their better Safeguard, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that none of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Back of them, towards the main Land, without the express Licence of the Council of that Colony, in Writing thereunto first had and obtained.

VI. PROVIDED always, and our Will and Pleasure herein is, that the Plantation and Habitation of such of the said Colonies, as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like *English* Miles of the other of them, that first began to make their Plantation, as aforesaid.

VII. AND we do also ordain, establish, and agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, that each of the said Colonies shall have a Council, which shall govern and order all Matters and Causes, which shall arise, grow, or happen, to or within the same several Colonies, according to such Laws, Ordinances, and Instructions, as shall be, in that behalf, given and signed with Our Hand or Sign Manual, and pass under the Privy Seal of our Realm of *England*; Each of which Councils shall consist of thirteen Persons, to be ordained, made, and removed, from time to time, according as shall be directed and comprised in the same Instructions; And shall have a several Seal, for all Matters that shall pass or concern the same several Councils; Each of which Seals shall have the King's Arms engraven on the one Side thereof, and his Portraiture on the other; And that the Seal for the Council of the said first Colony shall have engraven round about, on the one Side, these Words; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ*; on the other Side this Inscription, round about; *Pro Concilio primæ Coloniæ Virginiæ*. And the Seal for the

the Council of the ſaid ſecond Colony ſhall alſo have engraven, round about the one Side thereof, the aforeſaid Words; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ, Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ*; and on the other Side; *Pro Concilio ſecundæ Coloniæ Virginiæ:*

VIII. AND that alſo there ſhall be a Council eſtabliſhed here in *England*, which ſhall, in like Manner, conſiſt of thirteen Perſons, to be, for that Purpoſe, appointed by Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, which ſhall be called our *Council of Virginia*; And ſhall, from time to time, have the ſuperior Managing and Direction, only of and for all Matters, that ſhall or may concern the Government, as well of the ſaid ſeveral Colonies, as of and for any other Part or Place, within the aforeſaid Precincts of four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, abovementioned; Which Council ſhall, in like manner, have a Seal, for Matters concerning the Council or Colonies, with the like Arms and Portraiture, as aforeſaid, with this Inſcription, engraven round about on the one Side; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ*; and round about the other Side, *Pro Concilio ſuo Virginiæ.*

IX. AND moreover, we do GRANT and agree, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, that the ſaid ſeveral Councils, of and for the ſaid ſeveral Colonies, ſhall and lawfully may, by Virtue hereof, from time to time, without any Interruption of Us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, give and take Order, to dig, mine, and ſearch for all Manner of Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, as well within any Part of their ſaid ſeveral Colonies, as of the ſaid main Lands on the Backſide of the ſame Colonies; And to HAVE and enjoy the Gold, Silver, and Copper, to be gotten thereof, to the Uſe and Behoof of the ſame Colonies, and the Plantations thereof; YIELDING therefore, to Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, the fifth Part only of all the ſame Gold and Silver, and the fifteenth Part of all the ſame Copper, ſo to be gotten or had, as is aforeſaid, without any other Manner of Profit or Account, to be given or yielded to Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors, for or in Reſpect of the ſame:

X. AND that they ſhall, or lawfully may, eſtabliſh and cauſe to be made a Coin, to paſs current there between the People of thoſe ſeveral Colonies, for the more Eaſe of Traffick and Bargaining between and amongſt them and the Natives there, of ſuch Metal, and in ſuch Manner and Form, as the ſaid ſeveral Councils there ſhall limit and appoint.

XI. AND we do likewiſe, for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, by theſe Preſents, give full Power and Authority to the ſaid Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and to every of them, and to the ſaid ſeveral Companies, Plantations, and Colonies, that they, and every of them, ſhall and may, at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the ſaid Voyage, and for and towards the ſaid ſeveral Plantations and Colonies, and to travel thitherward, and to abide and inhabit there, in every the ſaid Colonies and Plantations, ſuch and ſo many of our Subjects, as ſhall willingly accompany them, or any of them, in the ſaid Voyages and Plantations,

tations; With sufficient Shipping, and Furniture of Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Powder, Victual, and all other things, necessary for the said Plantations, and for their Use and Defence there: PROVIDED always, that none of the said Persons be such, as shall hereafter be specially restrained by Us, our Heirs, or Successors.

XII. MOREOVER, we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT Licence unto the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and to every of the said Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for their several Defences, encounter, expulse, repel, and resist, as well by Sea as by Land, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every such Person and Persons, as without the especial Licence of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall attempt to inhabit within the said several Precincts and Limits of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, or that shall enterprise or attempt, at any time hereafter, the Hurt, Detriment, or Annoyance, of the said several Colonies or Plantations:

XIII. GIVING AND GRANTING, by these Presents, unto the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, and their Associates of the said first Colony, and unto the said *Thomas Hanham*, *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and their Associates of the said second Colony, and to every of them, from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, Power and Authority to take and surprise, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every Person and Persons, with their Ships, Vessels, Goods, and other Furniture, which shall be found trafficking, into any Harbour or Harbours, Creek or Creeks, or Place, within the Limits or Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, not being of the same Colony, until such time, as they, being of any Realms or Dominions under our Obedience, shall pay, or agree to pay, to the Hands of the Treasurer of that Colony, within whose Limits and Precincts they shall so traffick, two and a half upon every Hundred, of any thing, so by them trafficked, bought, or sold; And being Strangers, and not Subjects under our Obeysance, until they shall pay five upon every Hundred, of such Wares and Merchandises, as they shall traffick, buy, or sell, within the Precincts of the said several Colonies, wherein they shall so traffick, buy, or sell, as aforesaid; WHICH Sums of Money, or Benefit, as aforesaid, for and during the Space of one and twenty Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, shall be wholly employed to the Use, Benefit, and Behoof of the said several Plantations, where such Traffick shall be made; And after the said one and twenty Years ended, the same shall be taken to the Use of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by such Officers and Ministers, as by Us, our Heirs, and Successors, shall be thereunto assigned or appointed.

XIV. AND we do further, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT unto the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, and *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, and to their Associates of the said first Colony and Plantation, and to the said *Thomas Hanham*, *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and their Associates of the said second Colony and Plantation, that they, and every of them, by their Deputies, Ministers, and Factors, may transport the Goods, Chattles, Armour, Munition, and Furniture, needful to be used by them, for their said Apparel, Food, Defence, or otherwise in Respect of the said Plantations, out of our Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and all other our Dominions, from time to time, for and during the Time of seven Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, for the better Relief of the said several Colonies and Plantations, without any Custom, Subsidy, or other Duty, unto Us, our Heirs, or Successors, to be yielded or paid for the same.

XV. ALSO we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, DECLARE, by these Presents, that all and every the Persons, being our Subjects, which shall dwell and inhabit within every or any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, and every of their Children, which shall happen to be born within any of the Limits and Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall HAVE and enjoy all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities, within any of our other Dominions, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our Realm of *England*, or any other of our said Dominions.

XVI. MOREOVER, our gracious Will and Pleasure is, and we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, declare and set forth, that if any Person or Persons, which shall be of any of the said Colonies and Plantations, or any other, which shall traffick to the said Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, shall, at any time or times hereafter, transport any Wares, Merchandises, or Commodities, out of any our Dominions, with a Pretence to land, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, within any the Limits and Precincts of any the said Colonies and Plantations, and yet nevertheless, being at Sea, or after he hath landed the same within any of the said Colonies and Plantations, shall carry the same into any other foreign Country, with a Purpose there to sell or dispose of the same, without the Licence of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, in that Behalf first had and obtained; That then, all the Goods and Chattels of such Person or Persons, so offending and transporting, together with the said Ship or Vessel, wherein such Transportation was made, shall be forfeited to Us, our Heirs, and Successors.

XVII. PROVIDED always, and our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all *Christian* Kings, Princes, and States, that if any Person or Persons, which shall hereafter be of any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any other, by his, their or any of their Licence and Appointment, shall, at any time or times hereafter, rob or spoil, by Sea or by Land, or do

any

any Act of unjust and unlawful Hostility, to any the Subjects of Us, our Heirs, or Successors, or any the Subjects of any King, Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, being then in League or Amity with Us, our Heirs, or Successors, and that upon such Injury, or upon just Complaint of such Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, or their Subjects, We, our Heirs, or Successors, shall make open Proclamation, within any of the Ports of our Realm of *England*, commodious for that Purpose, That the said Person or Persons, having committed any such Robbery or Spoil, shall, within the Term to be limited by such Proclamations, make full Restitution or Satisfaction of all such Injuries done, so as the said Princes, or others, so complaining, may hold themselves fully satisfied and contented; And that, if the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, shall not make, or cause to be made, Satisfaction accordingly, within such Time so to be limited, That then it shall be lawful to Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to put the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, and their Procurers, Abetters, or Comforters, out of our Allegiance and Protection; And that it shall be lawful and free, for all Princes and others, to pursue with Hostility the said Offenders, and every of them, and their and every of their Procurers, Aiders, Abetters, and Comforters, in that Behalf.

XVIII. AND finally, we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, to and with the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, and *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, and all others of the said first Colony, that We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of *England*, GIVE and GRANT unto such Persons, their Heirs, and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid, To BE HOLDEN of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manor of *East-Greenwich* in the County of *Kent*, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite:

XIX. AND do, in like Manner, GRANT and agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to and with the said *Thomas Hanham*, *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and all others of the said second Colony, that We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of *England*, GIVE and GRANT unto such Persons, their Heirs, and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose, nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid, To BE HOLDEN of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manour of *East-Greenwich* in the County of *Kent*, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite.

XX. ALL which Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, so to be passed by the said several Letters-patent, shall be sufficient

Assurance from the said Patentees, so distributed and divided amongst the Undertakers for the Plantation of the said several Colonies, and such as shall make their Plantations in either of the said several Colonies, in such Manner and Form, and for such Estates, as shall be ordered and set down by the Council of the said Colony, or the most Part of them, respectively, within which the same Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments shall lye or be; Although express Mention of the true yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants, by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Sir *Thomas Gates*, Knt. Sir *George Somers*, Knt. *Richard Hackluit*, *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, or any of them, heretofore made, in these Presents, is not made; Or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, or Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary hereof had, made, ordained, or any other Thing, Cause, or Matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In Witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents; Witness Ourself at *Westminster*, the tenth Day of *April*, in the fourth Year of our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the nine and thirtieth.

Lukin

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

N°. II.

King James *the I.'s second Charter to the Treasurer and Company for* Virginia, *erecting them into a Corporation and Body politick, and for the further Enlargement and Explanation of the Privileges of the said Company and first Colony of* Virginia. *Dated* May 23, 1609.

I. *JAMES*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith &c. To all, to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. Whereas, at the humble Suit and Request of sundry our loving and well disposed Subjects, intending to deduce a Colony, and to make Habitation and Plantation of sundry our People, in that Part of *America*, commonly called Virginia, and other Parts and Territories in *America*, either appertaining unto Us, or which are not actually possessed of any *Christian* Prince or People, within certain Bounds and Regions, We have formerly by our Letters-patents, bearing Date the tenth Day of *April*, in the fourth Year of our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the nine and thirtieth, Granted to Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, and others, for the more speedy Accomplishment of the said Plantation and Habitation, that they should divide themselves into two Colonies (the one consisting of divers Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and others, of our City of *London*, called the First Co-

COLONY; And the other consisting of divers Knights, Gentlemen, and others, of our Cities of *Bristol*, *Exeter*, and Town of *Plimouth*, and other Places, called the SECOND COLONY) And have yielded and granted many and sundry Privileges and Liberties to each Colony, for their quiet Settling and good Government therein, as by the said Letters-patents more at large appeareth:

II. Now, forasmuch as divers and sundry of our loving Subjects, as well Adventurers, as Planters, of the said first Colony, which have already engaged themselves in furthering the Business of the said Colony and Plantation, and do further intend, by the Assistance of Almighty God, to prosecute the same to a happy End, have of late been humble Suitors unto us, that (in Respect of their great Charges and the Adventure of many of their Lives, which they have hazarded in the said Discovery and Plantation of the said Country) We would be pleased to grant them a further Enlargement and Explanation of the said Grant, Privileges, and Liberties, and that such Counsellors, and other Officers, may be appointed amongst them, to manage and direct their Affairs, as are willing and ready to adventure with them, as also whose Dwellings are not so far remote from the City of *London*, but that they may, at convenient Times, be ready at hand, to give their Advice and Assistance, upon all Occasions requisite.

III. WE, greatly affecting the effectual Prosecution and happy Success of the said Plantation, and commending their good Desires therein, for their further Encouragement in accomplishing so excellent a Work, much pleasing to God, and profitable to our Kingdom, Do, of our special Grace, and certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE, GRANT, and CONFIRM, to our trusty and well beloved Subjects, *Robert*, Earl of *Salisbury*, *Thomas*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *Henry*, Earl of *Southampton*, *William*, Earl of *Pembroke*, *Henry*, Earl of *Lincoln*, Earl of *Dorset*, *Thomas*, Earl of *Exeter*, *Philip*, Earl of *Montgomery*, *Robert*, Lord Viscount *Lisle*, *Theophilus*, Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, *James Montague*, Lord Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Edward*, Lord *Zouche*, *Thomas*, Lord *Lawarr*, *William*, Lord *Mounteagle*, *Ralph*, Lord *Ewre*, *Edmond*, Lord *Sheffield*, *Grey*, Lord *Chandois*, Lord *Compton*, *John*, Lord *Petre*, *John*, Lord *Stanhope*, *George*, Lord *Carew*, Sir *Humphrey Weld*, Lord Mayor of *London*, *George Percie*, Esq; Sir *Edward Cecil*, Knt, Sir *George Wharton*, Knt. *Francis West*, Esq; Sir *William Wade*, Knt. Sir *Henry Nevil*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Smith*, Knt. Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, Knt. Sir *Peter Manwood*, Knt. Sir *Drue Drury*, Knt. Sir *John Scot*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Challoner*, Knt. Sir *Robert Drury*, Knt. Sir *Anthony Cope*, Knt. Sir *Horatio Vere*, Knt. Sir *Edward Conway*, Knt. Sir *William Brown*, Knt. Sir *Maurice Berkeley*, Knt. Sir *Robert Mansel*, Knt. Sir *Amias Preston*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Gates*, Knt. Sir *Anthony Ashly*, Knt. Sir *Michael Sandys*, Knt. Sir *Henry Carey*, Knt. Sir *Stephen Soame*, Knt. Sir *Calisthenes Brooke*, Knt. Sir *Edward Michelborn*, Knt. Sir *John Ratcliffe*, Knt. Sir *Charles Wilmot*, Knt. Sir *George Moor*, Knt.

Sir

Sir *Hugh Wirral*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Dennis*, Knt. Sir *John Holles*, Knt. Sir *William Godolphin*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Monſon*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Ridgwine*, Knt. Sir *John Brooke*, Knt. Sir *obert Killigrew*, Knt. Sir *Henry Peyton*, Knt. Sir *ichard Williamſon*, Knt. Sir *Ferdinando Weynman*, Knt. Sir *William St. John*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, Knt. Sir *John Mallory*, Knt. Sir *Roger Aſhton*, Knt. Sir *Walter Cope*, Knt. Sir *Richard Wigmore*, Knight, Sir *William Coke*, Knight, Sir *Herbert Crofte*, Knt. Sir *Henry Fanſhaw*, Knt. Sir *John Smith*, Knt. Sir *Francis Wolley*, Knt. Sir *Edward Waterhouſe*, Knt. Sir *Henry Seekford*, Knt. * Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Waynam*, Knt. Sir *John Trevor*, Knt. Sir *Warwick Heele*, Knt. Sir *obert Wroth*, Knt. Sir *John Townſend*, Knt. Sir *Chriſtopeer Perkins*, Knt. Sir *Daniel Dun*, Knt. Sir *Henry Hobart*, Knt. Sir *Francis Bacon*, Knt. Sir *Henry Montague*, Knt. Sir *George Coppin*. Knt. Sir *Samuel Sandys*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Roe*, Knt. Sir *George Somers*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Freake*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Harwell*, Knt. Sir *Charles Kelke*, Knt. Sir *Baptiſt Hicks*, Knt. Sir *John Watts*, Knt. Sir *Robert Carey*, Knt. Sir *William Romney*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Knt. Sir *Hatton Cheeke*, Knt. Sir *John Ogle*, Knt Sir *Cavallero Meycot*, Knt. Sir *Stephen Riddleſton*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Bludder*, Knt. Sir *Anthony Aucher*, Knt. Sir *Robert Johnſon*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Panton*, Knt. Sir *Charles Morgan*, Knt. Sir *Stephen Pole*, Knt. Sir *John Burlacie*, Knt. Sir *Chriſtopher Cleave*, Knt. Sir *George Hayward*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Davis*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Sutton*, Knt. Sir *Anthony Foreſt*, Knt. Sir *Robert Payne*, Knt. Sir *John Digby*, Knt. Sir *Dudley Digges*, Knt. Sir *Fowland Cotton*, Knt. Dr. *Matthew Sutcliffe*, Dr. *Meadows*, Dr. *Turner*, Dr. *Poe*, Capt. *Pagnam*, Capt. *Jeffrey Holcrofte*, Captain *Romney*, Captain *Henry Spry*, Captain *Sheltou*, Captain *Sparks*, Captain *Thomas Wyat*, Captain *Brinſly*, Captain *William Courtney*, Captain *Herbert*, Captain *Clarke*, Captain *Dewhurſt*, Captain *John Blundell*, Captain *Fryer*, Captain *Lewis Orwell*, Captain *Edward Loyd*, Captain *Slingeſby*, Captain *Hawley*, Captain *Orme*, Captain *Woodhouſe*, Captain *Maſon*, Captain *Thomas Holcroft*, Captain *John Coke*, Captain *Holles*, Captain *William Proude*, Captain *Henry Woodhouſe*, Captain *Richard Lindeſey*, Captain *Dexter*, Captain *William Winter*, Captain *Pearſe*, Captain *John Bingham*, Captain *Burray*, Captain *Thomas Conway*, Captain *Rookwood*, Captain *William Lovelace*, Captain *John Aſhley*, Captain *Thomas Wynne*, Captain *Thomas Mewtis*, Captain *Edward Harwood*, Captain *Michael Everard*, Captain *Comock*, Captain *Mills*, Captain *Pigot*, Captain *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, Captain

---

* The Adventurers Names are vaſtly confuſed and different in the different M. S. Copies of this Charter. I chuſe the two faireſt and moſt correct Copies, that I had met with, to tranſcribe this from; and altho' they both agree in writing this Name, Sir *Edward Sands*, or *Sandis*, yet they are both certainly wrong, as might be eaſily proved, were it worth while, and would not be too tedious. I was alſo much puzzled to adjuſt and ſet right others of the Names; and altho' I was at no ſmall Pains in collating the Copies, and in conſulting and referring to other ancient Letters Patents and Papers, yet I will not affirm that I am not often miſtaken. But however erroneous and perplexed the Names of the Adventurers may be, yet I found the main Body, and material Parts, of the Charter, very clear, full, and correct.

Chriſtopher

Christopher Newport, Captain *John Sicklemore*, alias *Ratcliffe*, Captain *John Smith*, Captain *John Martin*, Captain *Peter Wynne*, Captain *Waldoe*, Captain *Thomas Wood*, Captain *Thomas Button*, *George Bolls*, Esq; Sheriff of *London*, *William Crashaw*, Clerk, Batchelor of Divinity, *William Seabright*, Esq; *Christopher Brooke*, Esq; *John Bingley*, Esq; *Thomas Watson*, Esq; *Richard Percival*, Esq; *John Moore*, Esq; *Hugh Brooker*, Esq; *David Woodhouse*, Esq; *Anthony Aucher*, Esq; *Robert Bowyer*, Esq; *Ralph Ewens*, Esq; *Zachary Jones*, Esq; *George Calvert*, Esq; *William Dobson*, Esq; *Henry Reynolds*, Esq; *Thomas Walker*, Esq; *Anthony Barnars*, Esq; *Thomas Sandys*, Esq; *Henry Sandys*, Esq; *Richard Sandys*, Esq; Son of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, *William Oxenbridge*, Esq; *John Moore*, Esq; *Thomas Wilson*, Esq; *John Bullock*, Esq; *John Waller*, Esq; *Thomas Webb*, *Jebu Robinson*, *William Brewster*, *Robert Evelyn*, *Henry Danby*, *Richard Hackluit*, Minister, *John Eldred*, Merchant, *William Russel*, Merchant, *John Merrick*, Merchant, *Richard Banister*, Merchant, *Charles Anthony*, Goldsmith, *John Banks*, *William Evans*, *Richard Humble*, *Richard Chamberlayne*, Merchant, *Thomas Barber*, Merchant, *Richard Pomet*, Merchant, *John Fletcher*, Merchant, *Thomas Nicholls*, Merchant, *John Stoke*, Merchant, *Gabriel Archer*, *Francis Covel*, *William Bonham*, *Edward Harrison*, *John Wolstenholme*, *Nicholas Salter*, *Hugh Evans*, *William Barnes*, *Otho Mawdet*, *Richard Staper*, Merchant, *John Elkin*, Merchant, *William Coyse*, *Thomas Perkin*, Cooper, *Humphry James*, Cooper, *Henry Jackson*, *Robert Singleton*, *Christopher Nicholls*, *John Harper*, *Abraham Chamberlayne*, *Thomas Shipton*, *Thomas Carpenter*, *Anthony Crew*, *George Holman*, *Robert Hill*, *Cleophas Smith*, *Ralph Harrison*, *John Farmer*, *James Brearley*, *William Crosby*, *Richard Cox*, *John Gearing*, *Richard Strongarm*, Ironmongers, *Thomas Langton*, *Griffith Hinton*, *Richard Ironside*, *Richard Dean*, *Richard Turner*, *William Lawson*, Mercer, *James Chatfield*, *Edward Allen Tedder*, *Robert Hildebrand Sprinson*, *Arthur Mouse*, *John Gardiner*, *James Fussel*, *Richard Caswell*, *Richard Evans*, *John Hawkins*, *Richard Kerril*, *Richard Brooke*, *Matthew Scrivener*, Gentleman, *William Stallenge*, Gentleman, *Arthur Venn*, Gentleman, *Sandys Webbe*, Gentleman, *Michael Phettiplace*, Gentleman, *William Phettiplace*, Gentleman, *Ambrose Prusey*, Gentleman, *John Taverner*, Gentleman, *George Pretty*, Gentleman, *Peter Latham*, Gentleman, *Thomas Montford*, Gentleman, *William Cantrel*, Gentleman, *Richard Wiffin*, Gentleman, *Ralph Moreton*, Gentleman, *John Cornelius*, *Martin Freeman*, *Ralph Freeman*, *Andrew Moore*, *Thomas White*, *Edward Perkin*, *Robert Offley*, *Thomas Whitley*, *George Pit*, *Robert Parkhurst*, *Thomas Morris*, *Peter Harloe*, *Jeffry Duppa*, *John Gilbert*, *William Hancock*, *Matthew Brown*, *Francis Tyrrel*, *Randal Carter*, *Othowell Smith*, *Thomas Hamond*, *Martin Bond*, Habercasher, *John Moulsoe*, *obert Johnson*, *William Young*, *John Woodal*, *William Felgate*, *Humfrey Westwood*, *ichard Hampion*, *Henry Robinson*, *Francis Mapes*, *William Sambach*, *Ralegh Crashaw*, *Daniel Tucker*, *Thomas Grave*, *Hugh Willeston*, *Thomas Culpepper*, of *Wigsel*, Esq; *John Culpepper*, Gentleman, *Henry Lee*, *Josias Kirton*, Gentleman, *John Pory*, Gentleman, *Henry Collins*, *George Burton*, *William Atkinson*,

Atkinſon, *Thomas Foreſt*, *John ruſſel*, *John Holt*, *Harman Harriſon*, *Gabriel Peedel*, *John Beedel*, *Henry Dawkes*, *George Scot*, *Edward Fleetwood*, Gentleman, *Richard ogers*, Gentleman, *Arthur obinſon*, *obert obinſon*, *John Huntley*, *John Gray*, *William Payne*, *William Field*, *William Wattey*, *William Webſter*, *John Dingley*, *Thomas Draper*, *Richard Glanvil*, *Arnold Hulls*, *Henry oe*, *William More*, *Nicholas Gryce*, *James Monger*, *Nicholas Andrews*, *Jeremy Haydon*, Ironmonger, *Philip Durette*, *John Quarles*, *John Weſt*, *Matthew pringham*, *John Johnſon*, *Chriſtopher ore*, *Thomas Snead*, *George Berkeley*, *Arthur Pet*, *Thomas Careles*, *William Berkeley*, *Thomas Johnſon*, *Alexander Bents*, Captain *William King*, *George Sandys*, Gentleman, *James White*, Gentleman, *Edmond Wynne*, *Charles Towler*, *Richard Reynold*, *Edward Webb*, *Richard Mapleſden*, *Thomas Lever*, *David Bourne*, *Thomas Wood*, *Ralph amer*, *Edward Barnes*, Mercer, *John Wright*, Mercer, *Robert Middleton*, *Edward Littlefield*, *Katharine Weſt*, *Thomas Web*, *Ralph King*, *Robert Coppin*, *James Aſkew*, *Chriſtopher Holt*, *William Bardwell*, *Alexander Chiles*, *Lewis Tate*, *Edward Ditchfield*, *James Swifte*, *Richard Widdowes*, Goldſmith, *Edmond Brudenell*, *Edward Burwell*, *John Hansford*, *Edward Wooller*, *William Palmer*, Haberdaſher, *John Badger*, *John Hodgſon*, *Peter Mounſel*, *John arril*, *John Buſhridge*, *William Dun*, *Thomas Johnſon*, *Nicholas Benſon*, *Thomas Shipton*, *Nathaniel Wade*, *Randal Wetwood*, *Matthew Dequeſter*, *Charles Hawkins*, *Hugh Hamerſley*, *Abraham Cartwright*, *George Bennet*, *William Cater*, *Richard Goddart*, *Henry Cromwell*, *Phineas et*, *Robert Cooper*, *John Cooper*, *enry Newce*, *Edward Wilkes*, *Robert Bateman*, *Nicholas Farrar*, *John Newhouſe*, *John Caſon*, *Thomas Harris*, Gentleman, *George Etheridge*, Gentleman, *Thomas Mayle*, Gentleman, *Richard Stafford*, *homas* , *ichard Cooper*, *John Weſtrow*, *Edward Welch*, *Thomas Britain*, *Thomas Knowles*, *Octavian Thorne*, *Edmond Smith*, *John March*, *Edward Carew*, *Thomas leydall*, *Richard Let*, *Miles Palmer*, *enry rice*, *John Joſhua*, Gentleman, *William Clauday*, *Jeremy earſye*, *John Bree*, Gentleman, *William Hampſon*, *Chriſtopher ickford*, *Thomas Hunt*, *Thomas Truſton*, *Chriſtopher Salmon*, *John Howard*, Clerk, *Richard Partridge*, *Allen Caſſen*, *Felix Wilſon*, *Thomas Bathurſt*, *George Wilmer*, *Andrew Wilmer*, *Maurice Lewellin*, *Thomas Godwin*, *Peter Burgoyne*, *Thomas Burgoyne*, *Robert Burgoyne*, *Robert Smith*, Merchant-taylor, *Edward Cage*, Grocer, *Thomas Cannon*, Gentleman, *William Welby*, Stationer, *Clement Wilmer*, Gentleman, *John Clapham*, Gentleman, *Giles Francis*, Gentleman, *George Walker*, Sadler, *John Swinhow*, Stationer, *Edward Biſhop*, Stationer, *Leonard White*, Gentleman, *Chriſtopher Baron*, *eter Benſon*, *Richard Smith*, *George roctor*, Miniſter, *Millicent Ramſden*, Widow, *Joſeph Soane*, *Thomas Hinſhaw*, *John Baker*, *Robert Thornton*, *John Davis*, *Edward Facet*, *George Newce*, Gentleman, *John Robinſon*, Captain *Thomas Wood*, *William Brown*, Shoemaker, *Robert Barker*, Shoemaker, *Robert ennington*, *Francis Burley*, Miniſter, *William Quick*, Grocer, *Edward Lewis*, Grocer, *Laurence Campe*, Draper, *Aden erkins*, Grocer, *Richard Shepherd*, Preacher, *William Sherley*, Haberdaſher, *William Taylor*, Haberdaſher,

dasher, *Edwin Lukin*, Gentleman, *John Franklyn*, Haberdasher, *John Southwick*, *Peter Peate*, *George Johan*, Ironmonger, *George Yeardley*, Gentleman, *Henry Shelley*, *John Prat*, *Thomas Church*, Draper, *William Powel*, Gentleman, *Richard Frith*, Gentleman, *Thomas Wheeler*, Draper, *Francis Haselrig*, Gentleman, *Hugh Shipley*, Gentleman, *John Andrews* the Elder, Doctor of *Cambridge*, *Francis Whistler*, Gentleman, *John Vassal*, Gentleman, *Richard Howle*, *Edward Berkeley*, Gentleman, *Richard Keneridgburg*, Gentleman, *Nicholas Exton*, Draper, *William Bennet*, Fishmonger, *James Haywood*, Merchant, *Nicholas Isaac*, Merchant, *William Gibbs*, Merchant, *Bishop*, *Bernard Mitchel*, *Isaac Mitchel*, *John Streate*, *Edward Gall*, *John Martin*, Gentleman, *Thomas Fox*, *Luke Lodge*, *John Woodliffe*, Gentleman, *Richard Webb*, *Vincent Low*, *Samuel Burnham*, *Edmund Pears*, Haberdasher, *John Googe*, *John St. John*, *Edward Vaughan*, *William Dunn*, *Thomas Alcocke*, *John Andrews* the Younger, of *Cambridge*, *Samuel Smith*, *Thomas Gerrard*, *Thomas Whittingham*, *William Canning*, *Paul Canning*, *George Chandler*, *Henry Vincent*, *Thomas Ketley*, *James Skelton*, *James Mountaine*, *George Webb*, Gentleman, *Joseph Newbridge*, Smith, *Josiah Mand*, Captain *Ralph Hamer*, the Younger, *Edward Brewster*, the Son of *William Brewster*, *Leonard Harwood*, Mercer, *Philip Druerdent*, *William Carpenter*, *Tristian Hill*, *Robert Cock*, Grocer, *Laurence Green*, Grocer, *Samuel Winch*, Grocer, *Humphrey Stile*, Grocer, *Averie Dransfield*, Grocer, *Edward Hodges*, Grocer, *Edward Beale*, Grocer, *Thomas Culler*, Grocer, *Ralph Busby*, Grocer, *John Whittingham*, Grocer, *John Hide*, Grocer, *Matthew Shepherd*, Grocer, *Thomas Allen*, Grocer, *Richard Hooker*, Grocer, *Lawrence Munks*, Grocer, *John Tanner*, Grocer, *Peter Gate*, Grocer, *John Blunt*, Grocer, *Robert Phips*, Grocer, *Robert Berrisford*, Grocer, *Thomas Wells*, Grocer, *John Ellis*, Grocer, *Henry Colthurst*, Grocer, *John Cavady*, Grocer, *Thomas Jennings*, Grocer, *Edmond Pashall*, Grocer, *Timothy Bathurst*, Grocer, *Giles Parslow*, Grocer, *Robert Milmay*, Grocer, *Richard Johnson*, Grocer, *William Johnson*, Vintner, *Ezekiel Smith*, *Richard Martin*, *William Sharpe*, *Robert Rich*, *William Stannard*, Innholder, *John Stocken*, *William Strachey*, Gentleman, *George Farmer*, Gentleman, *Thomas Gypes*, Clothworker, *Abraham Davies*, Gentleman, *Thomas Brocket*, Gentleman, *George Bache*, Fishmonger, *John Dike*, Fishmonger, *Henry Sparger*, *Richard Farrington*, *Christopher Vertue*, Vintner, *Thomas Bayley*, Vintner, *George Robins*, Vintner, *Tobias Hinson*, Grocer, *Vrian Spencer*, *Clement Chicheley*, *John Scarpe*, Gentleman, *James Campbell*, Ironmonger, *Christopher Clitheroe*, Ironmonger, *Philip Jacobson*, *Peter Jacobson*, of *Antwerp*, *William Berkeley*, *Miles Banks*, Cutler, *Peter Higgons*, Grocer, *Henry John*, Gentleman, *John Stokeley*, Merchant-taylor, The Company of Mercers, the Company of Grocers, the Company of Drapers, the Company Fishmongers, the Company of Goldsmiths, the Company of Skinners, the Company of Merchant-taylers, the Company of Haberdashers, the Company of Salters, the Company of Ironmongers, the Company of Vintners, the Company Clothworkers,

the Company of Dyers, the Company of Brewers, the Company of Leatherſellers, the Company of Pewterers, the Company of Cutlers, the Company of Whitebakers, the Company of Wax-Chandlers, the Company of Tallow-Chandlers, the Company of Armorers, the Company of Girdlers, the Company of Butchers, the Company of Saddlers, the Company of Carpenters, the Company of Cordwayners, the Company of Barber-Chirurgeons, the Company of Painterſtainers, the Company of Curriers, the Company of Maſons, the Company of Plumbers, the Company Inholders, the Company of Founders, the Company of Poulterers, the Company of Cooks, the Company of Coopers, the Company of Tylers and Bricklayers, the Company of Bowyers, the Company of Fletchers, the Company of Blackſmiths, the Company of Joiners, the Company of Weavers, the Company of Woolmen, the Company of Woodmongers, the Company of Scriveners, the Company of Fruiterers, the Company of Plaiſters, the Company of Brownbakers, the Company of Stationers, the Company of Imbroiderers, the Company of Upholſters, the Company of Muſicians, the Company of Turners, the Company of Gardiners, the Company of Baſketmakers, the Company of Glaziers, *John Levet*, Merchant, *Thomas Nornicot*, Clothworker, *Richard Venn*, Haberdaſher, *Thomas Scot*, Gentleman, *Thomas Juxon*, Merchant-taylor, *George Hankinſon*, *Thomas Seyer*, Gentleman, *Matthew Cooper*, *George Butler*, Gentleman, *Thomas Lawſon*, Gentleman, *Edward Smith*, Haberdaſher, *Stephen Sparrow*, *John Jones*, Merchant, *Reynolds*, Brewer, *Thomas Plummer*, Merchant. *James Duppa*, Brewer, *Rowland Coitmore*, *William Southerne*, *George Whitmore*, Haberdaſher, *Anthony Goſnold*, the Younger, *John Allen*, Fiſhmonger, *Simon Yeomans*, Fiſhmonger, *Lancelot Davis*, Gentlemen, *John Hopkins*, Alderman of *Briſtol*, *John Kettleby*, Gentleman, *Richard Clene*, Goldſmith, *George Hooker*, Gentleman, *Robert Chening*, Yeoman; AND to ſuch, and ſo many, as they do, or ſhall hereafter, admit to be joined with them, in Form hereafter in theſe Preſents expreſſed, whether they go in their Perſons, to be Planters there in the ſaid Plantation, or whether they go not, but adventure their Monies, Goods, or Chattels; THAT they ſhall be one Body or Commonalty perpetual, and ſhall have perpetual Succeſſion, and one Common Seal, to ſerve for the ſaid Body or Commonalty; And that they, and their Succeſſors, ſhall be KNOWN, CALLED, and INCORPORATED by the Name of, *The Treaſurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the firſt Colony in Virginia*:

IV. AND that they, and their Succeſſors, ſhall be, from henceforth, for ever enabled to TAKE, ACQUIRE, and PURCHASE, by the Name aforeſaid (Licence for the ſame, from Us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, firſt had and obtained) any Manner of Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Goods, and Chattels, within our Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*:

V. AND that they, and their Succeſſors, ſhall likewiſe be enabled, by the Name aforeſaid, to PLEAD, and BE IMPLEADED, before any of our Judges or Juſtices, in any of our Courts, and in any Actions or Suits whatſoever.

VI.

VI. AND we do also, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, GIVE, GRANT, and CONFIRM, unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, under the Reservations, Limitations, and Declarations, hereafter expressed, all those Lands, Countries, and Territories, situate, lying, and being, in that Part of *America* called VIRGINIA, from the Point of Land, called *Cape* or *Point Comfort*, all along the Sea coast, to the *Northward* two hundred Miles, and from the said Point of *Cape Comfort*, all along the Sea coast, to the *Southward* two hundred Miles, and all that Space and Circuit of Land, lying from the Sea Coast of the Precinct aforesaid, up into the Land, throughout from Sea to Sea, *West*, and *Northwest*; And also all the Islands, lying within one hundred Miles, along the Coast of both Seas of the Precinct aforesaid; Together with all the Soils, Grounds, Havens, and Ports, Mines, as well Royal Mines of Gold and Silver, as other Minerals, Pearls, and precious Stones, Quarries, Woods, Rivers, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Privileges, Franchises, and Preheminences, within the said Territories, and the Precincts thereof, whatsoever, and thereto and thereabouts, both by Sea and Land, being, or in any sort belonging or appertaining, and which We, by our Letters Patents, may or can grant, in as ample Manner and Sort, as We, or any our noble Progenitors, have heretofore granted to any Company, Body politick or corporate, or to any Adventurer, or Adventurers, Undertaker or Undertakers, of any Discoveries, Plantations, or Traffick, of in or into any foreign Parts whatsoever, and in as large and ample Manner, as if the same were herein particularly mentioned and expressed; TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, possess and enjoy, all and singular the said Lands, Countries, and Territories, with all and singular other the Premises, heretofore by these Presents granted, or mentioned to be granted, to them, the said Treasurer and Company, their Successors and Assigns for ever; To the sole and proper Use of them, the said Treasurer and Company, their Successors and Assigns for ever; TO BE HOLDEN of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manour of *East-Greenwich*, in free and common Socage, and not in Capite; YIELDING and PAYING, therefore, to Us, our Heirs, and Successors, the fifth Part only of all Ore of Gold and Silver, that, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall be there gotten, had, or obtained, for all Manner of Services.

VII. AND nevertheless, our Will and Pleasure is, and we do, by these Presents, charge, command, warrant, and authorise, that the said Treasurer and Company, or their Successors, or the major Part of them, which shall be present and assembled for that Purpose, shall, from time to time, under their Common Seal, DISTRIBUTE, convey, assign, and set over, such particular Portions of Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, by these Presents, formerly granted, unto such our loving Subjects, naturally born, or Denizens, or others, as well Adventurers as Planters, as by the said Company (upon a Commission of Survey and Distribution, executed and returned for that Purpose) shall be nominated, appointed, and allowed; Wherein our Will and Pleasure is, that

Respect be had, as well of the Proportion of the Adventurer, as to the special Service, Hazard, Exploit, or Merit of any Person, so to be recompenced, advanced, or rewarded.

VIII. And forasmuch, as the good and prosperous Success of the said Plantation cannot but chiefly depend, next under the Blessing of God, and the Support of our Royal Authority, upon the provident and good Direction of the whole Enterprize, by a careful and understanding Council, and that it is not convenient, that all the Adventurers shall be so often drawn to meet and assemble, as shall be requisite for them to have Meetings and Conference about the Affairs thereof; Therefore we do ordain, establish, and confirm, that there shall be perpetually one Council here resident, according to the Tenour of our former Letters-patents; Which Council shall have a Seal, for the better Government and Administration of the said Plantation, besides the legal Seal of the Company or Corporation, as in our former Letters-patents is also expressed.

IX. And further, we establish and ordain, that *Henry*, Earl of *Southampton*, *William*, Earl of *Pembroke*, *Henry*, Earl of *Lincoln*, *Thomas*, Earl of *Exeter*, *Robert*, Lord Viscount *Lisle*, Lord *Theophilus Howard*, *James*, Lord Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Edward*, Lord *Zouche*, *Thomas*, Lord *Lawarr*, *William*, Lord *Montcagle*, *Edmond*, Lord *Sheffield*, *Grey*, Lord *Chandois*, *John*, Lord *Stanhope*, *George*, Lord *Carew*, Sir *Humfrey Weld*, Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *Edward Cecil*, Sir *William Wade*, Sir *Henry Nevil*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, Sir *Peter Manwood*, Sir *Thomas Challoner*, Sir *Henry Hobart*, Sir *Francis Bacon*, Sir *George Coppin*, Sir *John Scot*, Sir *Henry Carey*, Sir *Robert Drury*, Sir *Horatio Vere*, Sir *Edward Conway*, Sir *Maurice Berkeley*, Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *Michael Sandys* Sir *Robert Mansel*, Sir *John Trevor*, Sir *Amias Preston*, Sir *William Godolphin*, Sir *Walter Cope*, Sir *Robert Killigrew*, Sir *Henry Fanshaw*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Sir *John Watts*, Sir *Henry Montague*, Sir *William Romney*, Sir *Thomas Roe*, Sir *Baptist Hicks*, Sir *Richard Williamson*, Sir *Stephen Poole*, Sir *Dudley Digges*, *Christopher Brooke*, Esq; *John Eldred*, and *John Wolstenholme*, shall be our Council for the said Company of Adventurers and Planters in *Virginia*.

X. And the said Sir *Thomas Smith* we do ordain to be Treasurer of the said Company; which Treasurer shall have Authority to give Order, for the Warning of the Council, and summoning the Company, to their Courts and Meetings.

XI. And the said Council and Treasurer, or any of them, shall be from henceforth, nominated, chosen, continued, displaced, changed, altered, and supplied, as Death, or other several Occasions, shall require, out of the Company of the said Adventurers, by the Voice of the greater Part of the said Company and Adventurers, in their Assembly for that Purpose: Provided always, that every Counsellor, so newly elected, shall be presented to the Lord Chancellor of *England*, or to the Lord High Treasurer of *England*, or to the Lord Chamberlain of the Household of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, for the time being, to

to take his Oath of a Counſellor to Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, for the ſaid Company of Adventurers and Colony in *Virginia*.

XII. AND we do, by theſe Preſents, of our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, GRANT unto the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, and their Succeſſors, that if it happen, at any time or times, the Treaſurer for the time being to be ſick, or to have any ſuch Cauſe of Abſence from the City of *London*, as ſhall be allowed by the ſaid Council, or the greater Part of them, aſſembled, ſo as he cannot attend the Affairs of that Company, in every ſuch Caſe, it ſhall and may be lawful for ſuch Treaſurer for the time being, to aſſign, conſtitute and appoint, one of the Council or Company, to be likewiſe allowed by the Council, or the greater Part of them, aſſembled, to be the Deputy Treaſurer of the ſaid Company; Which Deputy ſhall have Power, to do and execute all things, which belong to the ſaid Treaſurer, during ſuch time, as ſuch Treaſurer ſhall be either ſick, or otherwiſe abſent upon Cauſe allowed of by the ſaid Council, or the major Part of them, as aforeſaid, ſo fully and wholly, and in as large and ample Manner and Form, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as the ſaid Treaſurer, if he were preſent, himſelf might or could do and execute the ſame.

XIII. AND further, of our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, we do, by theſe Preſents, GIVE and GRANT full Power and Authority to our ſaid Council, here reſident, as well at this preſent Time, as hereafter from time to time, to nominate, make, conſtitute, ordain, and confirm, by ſuch Name or Names, Stile or Stiles, as to them ſhall ſeem good, And likewiſe to revoke, diſcharge, change, and alter, as well all and ſingular Governors, Officers, and Miniſters, which already have been made, as alſo which hereafter ſhall be by them thought fit and needful to be made or uſed, for the Government of the ſaid Colony and Plantation;

XIV. AND alſo to make, ordain, and eſtabliſh all Manner of Orders, Laws, Directions, Inſtructions, Forms, and Ceremonies of Government and Magiſtracy, fit and neceſſary, for and concerning the Government of the ſaid Colony and Plantation; And the ſame, at all times hereafter, to abrogate, revoke, or change, not only within the Precincts of the ſaid Colony, but alſo upon the Seas in going and coming, to and from the ſaid Colony, as they, in their good Diſcretion, ſhall think to be fitteſt for the Good of the Adventurers and Inhabitants there.

XV. AND we do alſo declare, that, for divers Reaſons and Conſiderations us thereunto eſpecially moving, our Will and Pleaſure is, and we do hereby ORDAIN, that immediately from and after ſuch time, as any ſuch Governor or principal Officer, ſo to be nominated and appointed, by our ſaid Council, for the Government of the ſaid Colony, as aforeſaid, ſhall arrive in *Virginia*, and give Notice unto the Colony there reſident of our Pleaſure in this Behalf, the Government, Power, and Authority of the Preſident and Council, heretofore by our former Letters Patents there eſtabliſhed, and all Laws and Conſtitutions, by them formerly

merly made, shall utterly cease and be determined, And all Officers, Governors, and Ministers, formerly constituted or appointed, shall be discharged, any thing, in our said former Letters Patents concerning the said Plantation contained, in any wise to the contrary notwithstanding; Straightly charging and commanding the President and Council, now resident in the said Colony, upon their Allegiance, after Knowledge given unto them of our Will and Pleasure, by these Presents signified and declared, that they forthwith be obedient to such Governor or Governors, as by our said Council, here resident, shall be named and appointed, as aforesaid, and to all Directions, Orders, and Commandments, which they shall receive from them, as well in the present Resigning and Giving up of their Authority, Offices, Charge, and Places, as in all other Attendance, as shall be by them, from time to time, required.

XVI. And we do further, by these Presents, Ordain and establish, that the said Treasurer and Council here resident, and their Successors, or any four of them, being assembled (the Treasurer being one) shall, from time to time, have full Power and Authority, to admit and receive any other Person into their Company, Corporation, and Freedom; And further, in a General Assembly of the Adventurers, with the Consent of the greater Part, upon good Cause, to disfranchise and put out any Person or Persons, out of the said Freedom and Company.

XVII. And we do also Grant and confirm, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, that it shall be lawful for the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, by Direction of the Governors there, to dig and to search for all Manner of Mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Lead, Tin, and all Sorts of Minerals, as well within the Precinct aforesaid, as within any Part of the main Land, not formerly granted to any other; And to have and enjoy the Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Lead, and Tin, and all other Minerals, to be gotten thereby, to the Use and Behoof of the said Company of Planters and Adventurers; Yielding thereof, and paying Yearly, unto Us, our Heirs and Successors, as aforesaid.

XVIII. And we do further, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, Grant, by these Presents, to and with the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, that it shall be lawful and free for them, and their Assigns, at all and every time and times hereafter, out of our Realm of *England*, and out of all other our Dominions, to take and lead into the said Voyages, and for and towards the said Plantation, and to travel thitherwards, and to abide and inhabit there in the said Colony and Plantation, all such and so many of our loving Subjects, or any other Strangers, that will become our loving Subjects and live under our Obedience, as shall willingly accompany them in the said Voyage and Plantation; With sufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Munition, Powder, Shot, Victuals, and such Merchandises or Wares, as are esteemed by the wild People in those Parts, Cloathing, Implements, Furniture, Cattle, Horses, and Mares,

Mares, and all other things, neceſſary for the ſaid Plantation, and for their Uſe, and Defence, and Trade with the People there; and in paſſing and returning to and fro; Without yielding or paying Subſidy, Cuſtom, Impoſition, or any other Tax or Duty, to Us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, for the Space of ſeven Years from the Date of theſe Preſents: PROVIDED, that none of the ſaid Perſons be ſuch, as ſhall be hereafter, by eſpecial Name, reſtrained by Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors.

XIX. AND for their further Encouragement, of our ſpecial Grace and Favour, we do, by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors YIELD and GRANT, to and with the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, and their Succeſſors, and every of them, their Factors, and Aſſigns, that they, and every of them, ſhall be free of all Subſidies and Cuſtoms in *Virginia*, for the Space of one and twenty Years, and from all Taxes and Impoſitions, for ever, upon any Goods or Merchandiſes, at any time or times hereafter, either upon Importation thither, or Exportation from thence, into our Realm of *England*, or into any other of our Realms or Dominions, by the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, and their Succeſſors, their Deputies, Factors, or Aſſigns, or any of them: EXCEPT only the five Pounds *per Cent.* due for Cuſtom, upon all ſuch Goods and Merchandiſes, as ſhall be brought or imported into our Realm of *England*, or any other of theſe our Dominions, according to the ancient Trade of Merchants; WHICH FIVE POUNDS *per Cent.* ONLY being paid, it ſhall be thenceforth lawful and free for the ſaid Adventurers, the ſame Goods and Merchandiſes to export, and carry out of our ſaid Dominions, into foreign Parts, without any Cuſtom, Tax, or other Duty, to be paid to Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors, or to any other our Officers or Deputies: PROVIDED, that the ſaid Goods and Merchandiſes be ſhipped out, within thirteen Months, after their firſt Landing within any Part of thoſe Dominions.

XX. AND we do alſo GRANT and confirm to the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, and their Succeſſors, as alſo to all and every ſuch Governor, or other Officers and Miniſters, as by our ſaid Council ſhall be appointed to have Power and Authority of Government and Command, in or over the ſaid Colony and Plantation; That they, and every of them, ſhall and lawfully may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for their ſeveral Defence and Safety, encounter, expulſe, repel, and reſiſt, by Force and Arms, as well by Sea as by Land, and all Ways and Means whatſoever, all and every ſuch Perſon and Perſons whatſoever, as (without the ſpecial Licence of the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, and their Succeſſors) ſhall attempt to inhabit, within the ſaid ſeveral Precincts and Limits of the ſaid Colony and Plantation; And alſo, all and every ſuch Perſon and Perſons whatſoever, as ſhall enterpriſe or attempt, at any time hereafter, Deſtruction, Invaſion, Hurt, Detriment, or Annoyance, to the ſaid Colony and Plantation, as is likewiſe ſpecified in the ſaid former Grant:

XXI. AND that it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, and their Succeſſors, and every of them, from time to time,

time, and at all times for ever hereafter, and they ſhall have full Power and Authority, to take and ſurpriſe, by all Ways and Means whatſoever, all and every Perſon and Perſons whatſoever, with their Ships, Goods, and other Furniture, trafficking in any Harbour, Creek, or Place, within the Limits or Precincts of the ſaid Colony and Plantation, * not being allowed by the ſaid Company to be Adventurers or Planters of the ſaid Colony, until ſuch time, as they, being of any Realms and Dominions under our Obedience, ſhall pay, or agree to pay, to the Hands of the Treaſurer or of ſome other Officer, deputed by the ſaid Governor of *Virginia* (over and above ſuch Subſidy and Cuſtom, as the ſaid Company is, or hereafter ſhall be, to pay) five Pounds *per Cent.* upon all Goods and Merchandiſes ſo brought in thither, and alſo five *per Cent.* upon all Goods by them ſhipped out from thence; And being Strangers, and not under our Obedience, until they have paid (over and above ſuch Subſidy and Cuſtom, as the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, or their Succeſſors, is, or hereafter ſhall be, to pay) ten Pounds *per Cent.* upon all ſuch Goods, likewiſe carried in and out, any thing, in the ſaid former Letters Patents, to the contrary notwithſtanding; And the ſame Sums of Money and Benefit, as aforeſaid, for and during the Space of one and twenty Years, ſhall be wholly employed to the Benefit, Uſe, and Behoof of the ſaid Colony and Plantation; And after the ſaid one and twenty Years ended, the ſame ſhall be taken to the Uſe of Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, by ſuch Officers and Miniſters, as by Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors, ſhall be thereunto aſſigned and appointed, as is ſpecified in the ſaid former Letters Patents.

XXII. Also, we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, declare, by theſe Preſents, that all and every the Perſons, being our Subjects, which ſhall go and inhabit within the ſaid Colony and Plantation, and every of their Children and Poſterity, which ſhall happen to be born within any the Limits thereof, ſhall have and enjoy all Liberties, Franchiſes, and Immunities of free Denizens and natural Subjects, within any of our other Dominions, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our Realm of *England*, or in any other of our Dominions.

XXIII. And foraſmuch, as it ſhall be neceſſary for all ſuch our loving Subjects, as ſhall inhabit within the ſaid Precincts of *Virginia*, aforeſaid, to determine to live together, in the Fear and true Worſhip of Almighty God, Chriſtian Peace, and civil Quietneſs, each with other, whereby every one may, with more Safety, Pleaſure, and Profit, enjoy that, whereunto they ſhall attain with great Pain and Peril; We, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, are likewiſe pleaſed and contented, and by theſe Preſents, do give and grant unto the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, and their Succeſſors, and to ſuch Governors, Officers, and Mi-

* It is *and being* in the Original; but the Senſe carried me ſo clearly to it, that I ventured to make this Correction, letting the Reader at the ſame time know it.

Ministers, as shall be, by our said Council, constituted and appointed, according to the Natures and Limits of their Offices and Places respectively, that they shall and may, from time to time for ever hereafter, within the said Precincts of *Virginia*, or in the Way by ‡ Sea thither and from thence, have full and absolute Power and Authority, to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, all such the Subjects of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as shall, from time to time, adventure themselves in any Voyage thither, or that shall, at any time hereafter, inhabit in the Precincts and Territories of the said Colony, as aforesaid, according to such Orders, Ordinances, Constitutions, Directions, and Instructions, as by our said Council, as aforesaid, shall be established; And in Defect thereof, in case of Necessity, according to the good † Discretions of the said Governor and Officers, respectively, as well in Cases capital and criminal as civil, both marine and other; So always, as the said Statutes, Ordinances, and Proceedings, as near as conveniently may be, be agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, Government, and Policy of this our Realm of *England*.

XXIV. AND we do further, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, GRANT, DECLARE, and ORDAIN, that such principal Governor, as, from time to time, shall duly and lawfully be authorised and appointed, in Manner and Form in these Presents heretofore expressed, shall have full Power and Authority, to use and exercise Martial Law, in Cases of Rebellion or Mutiny, in as large and ample Manner, as our Lieutenants in our * Counties, within this our Realm of *England*, have, or ought to have, by Force of their Commissions of Lieutenancy.

XXV. AND furthermore, if any Person or Persons, Adventurers or Planters of the said Colony, or any other, at any time or times hereafter, shall transport any Monies, Goods, or Merchandises, out of any of our Kingdoms, with a Pretence or Purpose, to land, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, within the Limits or Bounds of the said Colony, and yet nevertheless, being at Sea, or after he hath landed within any Part of the said Colony, shall carry the same into any other foreign Country, with a Purpose there to sell and dispose thereof; That then, all the Goods and Chattels of the said Person, or Persons, so offending and transported, together with the Ship or Vessel, wherein such Transportation was made, shall be forfeited to Us, our Heirs and Successors.

XXVI. AND further, our Will and Pleasure is, that in all Questions and Doubts, that shall arise, upon any Difficulty of Construction or Interpretation of any thing, contained either in this or in our said former Letters Patents, the same shall be taken and interpreted, in most ample and beneficial Manner for the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, and every Member thereof.

---

‡ M. S. *Seas*. † M. S. *Directions*. * M. S. *Countys*.

XXVII. And further, we do, by these Presents, RATIFY and CONFIRM unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, all the Privileges, Franchises, Liberties, and Immunities, granted in our said former Letters Patents, and not in these our Letters Patents revoked, altered, changed, or abridged.

XXVIII. And finally, our Will and Pleasure is, and we do further, hereby, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, to and with the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, that all and singular Person and Persons, which shall, at any time or times hereafter, adventure any Sum or Sums of Money, in and towards the said Plantation of the said Colony in *Virginia*, and shall be admitted, by the said Council and Company, as Adventurers of the said Colony, in Form aforesaid, and shall be enrolled in the Book or Records of the Adventurers of the said Company, shall and may be accounted, accepted, taken, held, and reputed, Adventurers of the said Colony, and shall and may enjoy all and singular Grants, Privileges, Liberties, Benefits, Profits, Commodities, and Immunities, Advantages, and Emoluments, whatsoever, as fully, largely, amply, and absolutely, as if they, and every of them, had been precisely, plainly singularly, and distinctly, named and inserted in these our Letters Patents.

XXIX. And lastly, because the principal Effect, which we can desire or expect of this Action, is the Conversion and Reduction of the People in those Parts unto the true Worship of God and Christian Religion, in which Respect we should be loath, that any Person should be permitted to pass, that we suspected to effect the Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*; We do hereby DECLARE, that it is our Will and Pleasure, that none be permitted to pass in any Voyage, from time to time to be made into the said Country, but such, as first shall have taken the Oath of Supremacy; For which Purpose, we do, by these Presents, give full Power and Authority, to the Treasurer for the time being, and any three of the Council, to tender and exhibit the said Oath, to all such Persons, as shall, at any time, be sent and employed in the said Voyage. Although express Mention of the true Yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants, by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Treasurer and Company heretofore made, in these Presents is not made; Or any Act, Statute, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary hereof had, made, ordained, or provided, or any other Thing, Cause, or Matter, whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In Witness whereof, We have caused these our Letters to be made Patent. Witness ourself at *Westminster*, the 23d Day of *May*, in the seventh Year of our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the ****

Per ipsum Regem

Lukin.

N°. III.

N°. III.

A third Charter of K. James *I. to the Treasurer and Company for* Virginia. *Dated* March 12, 1611-2.

I. JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith; To all, to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. WHEREAS, at the humble Suit of divers and sundry our loving Subjects, as well Adventurers as Planters of the first Colony in *Virginia*, and for the Propagation of *Christian* Religion, and reclaiming of People barbarous to Civility and Humanity, We have, by our Letters Patents, bearing Date, at *Westminster*, the three and twentieth Day of *May*, in the seventh Year of our Reign of *England, France*, and *Ireland*, and the two and fortieth of *Scotland*, GIVEN and GRANTED unto them, that they, and all such and so many of our loving Subjects, as should, from time to time for ever after, be joined with them, as Planters or Adventurers in the said Plantation, and their Successors, for ever, should be one Body politick, incorporated by the Name of, *The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia*;

II. AND whereas also, for the greater Good and Benefit of the said Company, and for the better Furtherance, Strengthening, and Establishing of the said Plantation, we did further GIVE, GRANT, and CONFIRM, by our said Letters Patents, unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, all those Lands, Countries, or Territories, situate, lying, and being, in that Part of *America* called VIRGINIA, from the Point of Land, called *Cape* or *Point Comfort*, all along the Sea Coasts, to the *Northward*, two hundred Miles, and from the said Point of *Cape Comfort*, all along the Sea Coast, to the *Southward*, two hundred Miles, and all that Space and Circuit of Land, lying from the Sea Coast of the Precinct aforesaid, up or into the Land, throughout from Sea to Sea, *West* and *Northwest*, and also all the Islands, lying within one hundred Miles, along the Coast of both the Seas of the Precinct aforesaid, with divers other Grants, Liberties, Franchises, and Preheminences, Previleges, Profits, Benefits, and Commodities, granted, in and by our said Letters Patents, to the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever:

III. NOW, forasmuch as we are given to understand, that in those Seas, adjoining to the said Coasts of *Virginia*, and without the Compass of those two hundred Miles, by Us so granted unto the said Treasurer and Company, as aforesaid, and yet not far distant from the said Colony in *Virginia*, there are, or may be, divers Islands, lying desolate and uninhabited, some of which are already made known and discovered, by the Industry, Travel,

and Expences of the said Company, and others also are supposed to be and remain, as yet, unknown and undiscovered, all and every of which it may import the said Colony, both in Safety and Policy of Trade, to populate and plant, in Regard whereof, as well for the preventing of Peril, as for the better Commodity and Prosperity of the said Colony, they have been humble Suitors unto us, that we would be pleased to grant unto them † an Enlargement of our said former Letters Patents, as well for a more ample Extent of their Limits and Territories into the Seas, adjoining to and upon the Coast of *Virginia*, as also for some other Matters and Articles, concerning the better Government of the said Company and Colony, in which Point our said former Letters Patents do not extend so far, as Time and Experience hath found to be needful and convenient:

IV. We therefore, tendering the good and happy Success of the said Plantation, both in Regard of the general ‡ Weal of human Society, as in Respect of the Good of our own Estate and Kingdoms, and being willing to give Furtherance unto all good Means, that may advance the Benefit of the said * Company, and which may secure the Safety of our loving Subjects, planted in our said Colony under the Favour and Protection of God Almighty, and of our Royal Power and Authority, have therefore, of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, given, granted, and confirmed, and for Us, our Heirs and Successors, we do, by these Presents, Give, Grant, and Confirm, to the said Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of *London* for the first Colony in *Virginia*, and to their Heirs and Successors, for ever, all and singular those Islands whatsoever, situate and being in any Part of the Ocean Seas bordering upon the Coast of our said first Colony in *Virginia*, and being within three hundred Leagues of any the Parts heretofore granted to the said Treasurer and Company, in our said former Letters Patents, as aforesaid, and being within or between the one and fortieth and thirtieth Degrees of *Northerly* Latitude, Together with all and singular Soils, Lands, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Waters, Fishings, Mines, and Minerals, as well Royal Mines of Gold and Silver, as other Mines and Minerals, Pearls, Precious Stones, Quarries, and all and singular other Commodities, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Privileges, Franchises, and Preheminences, both within the said Tract of Land upon the Main, and also within the said Islands and Seas adjoining, whatsoever, and thereunto or thereabouts, both by Sea and Land, being or situate; And which, by our Letters Patents, we may or can grant, and in as ample Manner and Sort, as We, or any our noble Progenitors, have heretofore granted to any Person or Persons, or to any Company, Body politick or corporate, or to any Adventurer or Adventurers, Undertaker or Undertakers, of any Discoveries, Plantations, or Traffick, of in or into any foreign Parts, whatsoever, and in as large and ample Manner, as if the

† *and*, M. S. ‡ M. S. *Wheel*. * M. S. *Companies*.

same

ſame were herein particularly named, mentioned, and expreſſed: Provided always, that the ſaid Iſlands, or any the Premiſes herein mentioned, or by theſe Preſents intended or ‡ meant to be granted, be not actually poſſeſſed or inhabited by any other *Chriſtian* Prince or Eſtate, nor be within the Bounds, Limits, or Territories of the *Northern* Colony, heretofore by Us granted to be planted by divers of our loving Subjects, in the *North* Parts of *Virginia*. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, poſſeſs and enjoy, † all and ſingular the ſaid Iſlands, in the ſaid Ocean Seas to lying, and bordering upon the Coaſt and Coaſts of the Territories of the ſaid firſt Colony in *Virginia*, as aforeſaid; With all and ſingular the ſaid Soils, Lands, and Grounds, and all and ſingular other the Premiſes, heretofore by theſe Preſents granted, or mentioned to be granted, to them, the ſaid * Treaſurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of *London* for the firſt Colony in *Virginia*, and to their Heirs, Succeſſors, and Aſſigns, for ever, to the ſole and proper Uſe and Behoof of them, the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, and their Heirs, and Succeſſors, and Aſſigns, for ever; TO BE HOLDEN of us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, as of our Manor of *Eaſt-Greenwich*, in free and common Soccage, and not in Capite; YIELDING AND PAYING therefore to Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, the ‖ fifth Part of the Ore of all Gold and Silver, which ſhall be there gotten, had, or obtained, for all Manner of Services whatſoever.

V. AND further, our Will and Pleaſure is, and we do, by theſe Preſents, GRANT AND CONFIRM, for the Good and Welfare of the ſaid Plantation, and that Poſterity may hereafter know, who have adventured and not been ſparing of their Purſes in ſuch a noble and generous Action for the general Good of their Country, and at the Requeſt, and with the Conſent, of the Company aforeſaid, that our truſty and well-beloved § Subjects, *George*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Henry*, Earl of *Huntington*, *Edward*, Earl of *Bedford*, *Richard*, Earl of *Clanrickard*, *&c.* who ſince our ſaid laſt Letters Patents are become Adventurers, and have joined themſelves with the former Adventurers and Planters of the ſaid Company and Society, ſhall, from henceforth, be reputed, deemed, and taken to be, and ſhall be Brethren and free Members of the Company, and ſhall and may, reſpectively, and according to the Proportion and Value of their ſeveral Adventures, HAVE, HOLD, and ENJOY all ſuch Intereſt, Right, Title, Privileges, Preheminences, Liberties, Franchiſes, Immunities, Profits, and Commodities, whatſoever, in as large, and ample, and beneficial Manner, to all Intents, Conſtructions, and Purpoſes, as any other Adventurers, nominated and expreſſed in any our former Letters Patents, or any of them, have or may have, by Force and Virtue of theſe Preſents, or any our former Letters Patents whatſoever.

---

‡ M. S. *mean*. † M. S. *and and ſingular*. * M. S. *Treaſurers*.
‖ M. S. *firſt*. § M. S. *Subject*.

VI. AND

VI. And we are further pleased, and we do, by these Presents, Grant and confirm, that *Philip*, Earl of *Montgomery*, *William* Lord *Paget*, Sir *John Starrington*, Knt. *&c.* whom the said Treasurer and Company have, since the said last Letters Patents, nominated and set down, as worthy and discreet Persons, fit to serve us as Counsellors, to be of our Council for the said Plantation, shall be reputed, deemed, and taken, as Persons of our said Council for the said first Colony, in such Manner and Sort, to all Intents and Purposes, as those, who have been formerly elected and nominated, as our Counsellors for that Colony, and whose Names have been or are inserted and expressed, in our said former Letters Patents.

VII. And We do hereby Ordain and Grant, by these Presents, that the said Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters aforesaid, shall and may, once every Week, or oftener, at their Pleasure, hold and keep a Court and Assembly, for the better Order and Government of the said Plantation, and such things, as shall concern the same; And that any five Persons of our Council for the said first Colony in *Virginia*, for the time being, of which Company the Treasurer, or his Deputy, to be always one, and the Number of fifteen others, at the least, of the Generality of the said Company, assembled together in such Manner, as is and hath been heretofore used and accustomed, shall be said, taken, held, and reputed to be, and shall be a *sufficient Court* of the said Company, for the handling, and ordering, and dispathcing of all such casual and particular Occurrences, and accidental Matters, of less Consequence and Weight, as shall, from time to time, happen, touching and concerning the said Plantation:

VIII. And that nevertheless, for the handling, ordering, and disposing of Matters and Affairs of greater Weight and Importance, and such, as shall or may, in any Sort, concern the ‡ Weal Publick and general Good of the said Company and Plantation, as namely, the Manner of Government from time to time to be used, the Ordering and Disposing of the Lands and Possessions, and the Settling and Establishing of a Trade there, or such like, there shall be held and kept, every Year, upon the last *Wednesday*, save one, of *Hillary* Term, *Easter*, *Trinity*, and *Michaelmas* Terms, for ever, one great, general, and solemn Assembly, which four Assemblies shall be stiled and called, *The four Great and General Courts of the Council and Company of Adventurers for Virginia*; † In all and every of which said Great and General Courts, so assembled, our Will and Pleasure is, and we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, for ever, Give and grant to the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, by these Presents, that they, the said Treasurer and Company, or the greater Number of them, so assembled, shall and may have full Power and Authority, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to elect and chuse discreet Persons, to be of our said

‡ M. S. *W*, with a Blank after it. † M. S. *in and every*.

Council

Council for the ſaid firſt Colony in *Virginia*, and to nominate and appoint ſuch Officers, as they ſhall think fit and requiſite, for the Government, Managing, Ordering, and Diſpatching of the Affairs of the ſaid Company; And ſhall likewiſe have full Power and Authority, to ordain and make ſuch Laws and Ordinances, for the Good and Welfare of the ſaid Plantation, as to them, from time to time, ſhall be thought requiſite and meet: *So always*, as the ſame be not contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this our Realm of *England*; And ſhall, in like Manner, * have Power and Authority, to expulſe, diſfranchiſe, and put, out of and from their ſaid Company and Society, for ever, all and every ſuch Perſon and Perſons, as having either promiſed, or ſubſcribed their Names, to become Adventurers to the ſaid Plantation of the ſaid firſt Colony in *Virginia*, † or having been nominated for Adventurers, in theſe or any other our Letters Patents, or having been otherwiſe admitted and nominated to be of the ſaid Company, have nevertheleſs, either not put in any Adventure at all, for and towards the ſaid Plantation, or elſe have refuſed and neglected, or ſhall refuſe and neglect, to bring in his or their Adventure, by Word or Writing promiſed, within ſix Months after the ſame ſhall be ſo payable and due.

IX. AND whereas the Failing and not Payment of ſuch Monies, as have been promiſed in Adventure for the Advancement of the ſaid Plantation, hath been often by Experience found, to be dangerous and prejudicial to the ſame, and much to have hindered the Progreſs and Proceeding of the ſaid Plantation, and for that it ſeemeth unto Us a thing reaſonable, that ſuch Perſons, as by their Hand Writing have engaged themſelves for the Payment of their Adventures, and afterwards neglecting their Faith and Promiſe, ſhould be compelled to make good and keep the ſame; Therefore our Will and Pleaſure is, that in any Suit or Suits, commenced or to be commenced, in any of our Courts at *Weſtminſter*, or elſewhere, by the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, or otherwiſe, againſt any ſuch Perſons, that our Judges for the time being, both in our Court of Chancery and at the Common Pleas, do favour and further the ſaid Suits, ſo far forth as Law and Equity will, in any wiſe, further and permit.

X. AND we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, further GIVE AND GRANT to the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, or their Succeſſors, for ever, that they, the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, or the greater Part of them, for the time being, ſo in a full and general Court aſſembled, as aforeſaid, ſhall and may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, elect, chooſe, and admit into their Company and Society, any Perſon or Perſons, as well Strangers ‡ and Aliens, born in any Part beyond the Seas whereſoever, being in Amity with us, as our natural Leige-Subjects, born in any our Realms and Dominions; And that all ſuch Perſons, ſo elected, choſen, and admitted to be of the ſaid Company, as aforeſaid, ſhall thereupon be taken, reputed, and held,

---

* M. S. *have and Authority*. † M. S. *of*. ‡ M. S. *as*,

and

and shall be, free Members of the said Company, and shall have, hold, and enjoy all and singular Freedoms, Liberties, Franchises, Privileges, Immunities, Benefits, Profits, and Commodities, whatsoever, to the said Company in any Sort belonging or appertaining, as fully, freely, and amply, as any other Adventurers, now being, or which hereafter at any time shall be of the said Company, hath, have, shall, may, might, or ought to have and enjoy the same, to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever.

XI. And we do further, of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, by these Presents, that it shall be lawful and free, for them and their Assigns, at all and every time and times hereafter, out of any our Realms and Dominions whatsoever, to take, lead, carry, and transport, in and into the said Voyage, and for and towards the said Plantation of our said first Colony in *Virginia*, all such and so many of our loving Subjects, or any other Strangers, that will become our loving Subjects and live under our Allegiance, as shall willingly accompany them in the said Voyages and Plantation; With Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Munition, Powder, Shot, Victuals, and all Manner of Merchandises and Wares, and all Manner of Cloathing, Implements, Furniture, Beasts, Cattle, Horses, Mares and all other things necessary for the said Plantation, and for their Use and Defence, and for Trade with the People there, and in passing and returning to and from, without paying or yielding any Subsidy, Custom, or Imposition, either inward or outward, or any other Duty, to Us, our Heirs, or Successors, for the same, for the Space of seven Years from the Date of these Presents.

XII. And we do further, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT to the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, by these Presents, that the said Treasurer of that Company, or his Deputy, for the time being, or any two other of the said Council for the said first Colony in *Virginia*, for the time being, or any two other at all times hereafter, and from time to time, have full Power and Authority, to minister and give the Oath and Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, or either of them, to all and every Person and Persons, which shall, at any time or times hereafter, go or pass to the said Colony in *Virginia*:

XIII. And further, that it shall be lawful likewise for the said Treasurer, or his Deputy, for the time being, or any two or others of our said Council for the said first Colony in *Virginia*, for the time being, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to minister such a formal Oath, as by their Discretion shall be reasonably devised, as well unto any Person or Persons, employed in, for, or touching the said Plantation, for their honest, faithful, and just Discharge of their Service, in all such Matters, as shall be committed unto them for the Good and Benefit of the said Company, Colony, and Plantation; As also, unto such other Person or Persons, as the said Treasurer, or his Deputy, with

two

two others of the said Council, shall think meet, for the Examination or clearing of the Truth, in any Cause whatsoever concerning the said Plantation, or any Business, from thence proceeding, or thereunto belonging.

XIV. AND furthermore, whereas we have been certified, that divers lewd and ill-disposed Persons, both Sailers, Soldiers, Artificers, Husbandmen, Labourers, and others, having received Wages, * Apparel, and other Entertainment from the said Company, or having contracted and agreed with the said Company, to go, or to serve, or to be employed in the said Plantation of the said first Colony in *Virginia*, have afterwards, either withdrawn, hid, or concealed themselves, or have refused to go thither, after they have been so entertained and agreed withal; And that divers and sundry Persons also, which have been sent and employed in the said Plantation of the said first Colony in *Virginia*, at and upon the Charge of the said Company, and having there misbehaved themselves by Mutinies, Sedition, or other notorious Misdemeanors, or having been employed or sent abroad, by the Governor of *Virginia* or his Deputy, with some Ship or Pinnace, for our Provision of the said Colony, or for some Discovery, or other Business and Affairs, concerning the same, have from thence most treacherously, either come back again and returned into our Realm of *England*, by Stealth, or without Licence of our Governor of our said Colony in *Virginia* for the time being, or have been sent hither, as Misdoers and Offenders; And that many also of those Persons, after their Return from thence, having been questioned by our said Council here, for such their Misbehaviors and Offences, by their insolent and contemptuous Carriage in the Presence of our said Council, have shewed little Respect and Reverence, either to the Place, or Authority, in which we have placed and appointed them; And others, for the colouring of their Lewdness and Misdemeanors committed in *Virginia*, have endeavoured, by most vile and slanderous Reports, made and divulged, as well of the Country of *Virginia*, as also of the Government and Estate of the said Plantation and Colony, as much as in them lay, to bring the said Voyage and Plantation into Disgrace and Contempt; By Means whereof, not only the Adventurers and Planters, already engaged in the said Plantation, have been exceedingly abused and hindered, and a great Number of other our loving and well-disposed Subjects, otherwise well-affected, and enclined to join and adventure in so noble, christian, and worthy an Action, have been discouraged from the same, but also the utter Overthrow and Ruin of the said Enterprise hath been greatly endangered, which cannot miscarry without some Dishonour to Us and our Kingdom;

XV. NOW, forasmuch as it appeareth unto us, that these Insolences, Misdemeanors, and Abuses, not to be tolerated in any civil Government, have, for the most part, grown and proceeded, in regard our said Council have not any direct Power and

* M. S. *Appell an other.*

Authority, by any expreſs Words in our former Letters Patents, to correct and chaſtiſe ſuch Offenders; We therefore, for the more ſpeedy Reformation of ſo great and enormous Abuſes and Miſdemeanors, heretofore practiſed and committed, and for the preventing of the like hereafter, do, by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, GIVE AND GRANT to the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, and their Succeſſors, for ever, that it ſhall and may be lawful for our ſaid Council for the ſaid firſt Colony in *Virginia*, or any two of them (whereof the ſaid Treaſurer, or his Deputy, for the time being, to be always one) by Warrant under their Hands, to ſend for, or to cauſe to be apprehended, all and every ſuch Perſon and Perſons, who ſhall be noted, or accuſed, or found, at any time or times hereafter, to offend, or miſbehave themſelves, in any the Offences before mentioned and expreſſed; And upon the Examination of any ſuch Offender or Offenders, and juſt Proof made by Oath, taken before the ſaid Council, of any ſuch notorious Miſdemeanors by them committed, as aforeſaid; And alſo upon any inſolent, and contemptuous, or indecent Carriage and Miſbehaviour, to or againſt our ſaid Council, ſhewed or uſed by any ſuch Perſon or Perſons, ſo called, convented, and appearing before them, as aforeſaid; That in all ſuch Caſes, they, our ſaid Council, or any two of them, for the time being, ſhall and may have full Power and Authority, either here to bind them over with good Sureties for their good Behaviour, and further therein to proceed, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as it is uſed, in other like Caſes, within our Realm of *England*; Or elſe, at their Diſcretions, to remand and ſend them back, the ſaid Offenders, or any of them, unto the ſaid Colony in *Virginia*, there to be proceeded againſt and puniſhed, as the Governor, Deputy, or Council there, for the time being, ſhall think meet; or otherwiſe, according to ſuch Laws and Ordinances, as are and ſhall be in Uſe there, for the Well-ordering and good Government of the ſaid Colony.

XVI. AND for the more effectual Advancing of the ſaid Plantation, we do further, for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, of our eſpecial Grace and Favour, by Virtue of our Prerogative Royal, and by the Aſſent and Conſent of the Lords and others of our Privy Council, GIVE and GRANT, unto the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, full Power and Authority, free Leave, Liberty, and Licence, to ſet forth, erect, and publiſh, one or more Lottery or Lotteries, to have Continuance, and to endure and be held, for the Space of our whole Year, next after the Opening of the ſame; And after the End and Expiration of the ſaid Term, the ſaid Lottery or Lotteries to continue and be further kept, during our Will and Pleaſure only, and not otherwiſe. And yet nevertheleſs, we are contented and pleaſed, for the Good and Welfare of the ſaid Plantation, that the ſaid Treaſurer and Company ſhall, for the Diſpatch and Finiſhing of the ſaid Lottery or Lotteries, have ſix Months Warning after the ſaid Year ended, before our Will and Pleaſure ſhall, for and on that Behalf, be conſtrued, deemed, and adjudged, to be in any wiſe altered and determined.

XVII.

XVII. AND our further Will and Pleaſure is, that the ſaid Lottery and Lotteries ſhall and may be opened and held, within our City of *London*, or in any other City or Town, or elſewhere, within this our Realm of *England*, with ſuch Prizes, Articles, Conditions, and Limitations, as to them, the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, in their Diſcretions, ſhall ſeem convenient:

XVIII. AND that it ſhall and may be lawful, to and for the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, to elect and chooſe Receivers, Auditors, Surveyors, Commiſſioners, or any other Officers whatſoever, at their Will and Pleaſure, for the better marſhalling, diſpoſing, guiding, and governing of the ſaid Lottery and Lotteries; And that it ſhall likewiſe be lawful, to and for the ſaid Treaſurer and any two of the ſaid Council, to miniſter to all and every ſuch Perſon, ſo elected and choſen for Officers, as aforeſaid, one or more Oaths, for their good Behaviour, juſt and true Dealing, in and about the ſaid Lottery or Lotteries, to the Intent and Purpoſe, that none of our loving Subjects, putting in their Names, or otherwiſe adventuring in the ſaid general Lottery or Lotteries, may be, in any wiſe, defrauded and deceived of their ſaid Monies, or evil and indirectly dealt withal in their ſaid Adventures.

XIX. AND we further GRANT, in Manner and Form aforeſaid, that it ſhall and may be lawful, to and for the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, under the Seal of our ſaid Council for the Plantation, to publiſh, or to cauſe and procure to be publiſhed, by Proclamation or otherwiſe (the ſaid Proclamation to be made in their Name, by Virtue of theſe Preſents) the ſaid Lottery or Lotteries, in all Cities, Towns, Burroughs, and other Places, within our ſaid Realm of *England*; And we Will and Command all ‡ Mayors, Juſtices of Peace, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and other Officers and loving Subjects, whatſoever, that, in no wiſe, they hinder or delay the Progreſs and Proceedings of the ſaid Lottery or Lotteries, but be therein, touching the Premiſes, aiding and aſſiſting, by all honeſt, good, and lawful Means and Endeavours.

XX. AND further, our Will and Pleaſure is, that in all Queſtions and Doubts, that ſhall ariſe, upon any Difficulty † of Conſtruction or Interpretation of any thing, contained in theſe, or any other our former Letters Patents, the ſame ſhall be taken and interpreted, in moſt ample and beneficial Manner for the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, and their Succeſſors, and every Member thereof.

XXI. AND laſtly, we do, by theſe Preſents, RATIFY AND CONFIRM unto the ſaid Treaſurer and Company, and their Succeſſors, for ever, all and all Manner of Privileges, Franchiſes, Liberties, Immunities, Preheminences, Profits, and Commodities, whatſoever, granted unto them in any our former Letters Patents, and not in theſe Preſents revoked, altered, changed, or abridged. ALTHOUGH expreſs Mention of the true Yearly Value or Certainty of the Premiſes, or any of them, or of any

‡ M. S. *Mayor.* † M. S. *or.*

other Gift or Grant, by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predeceſſors, to the aforeſaid Treaſurer and Company heretofore made, in theſe Preſents is not made; Or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Proviſion, Proclamation, or Reſtraint, to the contrary thereof heretofore made, ordained, or provided, or any other Matter, Cauſe, or thing, whatſoever, to the contrary, in any wiſe, notwithſtanding.

In Witness whereof we have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents. Witneſs Ourſelf, at *Weſtminſter*, the twelfth Day of *March*, in the ninth Year of our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the five and fortieth.

N°. IV.

An Ordinance and Conſtitution of the Treaſurer, Council, and Company in England, *for a Council of State and General Aſſembly. Dated* July 24, 1621.

I. To all People, to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, be ſeen, or heard, The Treaſurer, Council, and Company of Adventurers and Planters for the City of *London* for the firſt Colony of *Virginia*, ſend Greeting. Know ye, that we, the ſaid Treaſurer, Council, and Company, taking into our careful Conſideration the preſent State of the ſaid Colony of *Virginia*, and intending, by the Divine Aſſiſtance, to ſettle ſuch a Form of Government there, as may be to the greateſt Benefit and Comfort of the People, and whereby all Injuſtice, Grievances, and Oppreſſion may be prevented and kept off as much as poſſible from the ſaid Colony, have thought fit to make our Entrance, by ordering and eſtabliſhing ſuch Supreme Councils, as may not only be aſſiſting to the Governor for the time being, in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the Executing of other Duties to this Office belonging, but alſo, by their vigilant Care and Prudence, may provide, as well for a Remedy of all Inconveniences, growing from time to time, as alſo for advancing of Increaſe, Strength, Stability, and Proſperity of the ſaid Colony:

II. We therefore, the ſaid Treaſurer, Council, and Company, * by Authority directed to us from his Majeſty under the Great Seal, upon mature Deliberation, do hereby order and declare, that, from hence forward, there ſhall be two Supreme Councils in *Virginia*, for the better Government of the ſaid Colony aforeſaid.

III. The one of which Councils, to be called The Council of State (and whoſe Office ſhall chiefly be aſſiſting, with their Care, Advice, and Circumſpection, to the ſaid Governor) ſhall be choſen, nominated, placed, and diſplaced, from time to

---

* Vide Sect. XIV. and XXIII. of the ſecond Charter, and Sect. VIII. of the third.

time,

time, by Us, the said Treasurer, Council, and Company, and our Successors: Which Council of State shall consist, for the present, only of these Persons, as are here inserted, *viz.* Sir *Francis Wyat*, ‡ Governor of *Virginia*, Captain *Francis West*, Sir *George Yeardley*, Knight, Sir *William Neuce*, Knight Marshal of *Virginia*, Mr. *George Sandys*, Treasurer, Mr. *George* † *Thorpe*, Deputy of the College, Captain *Thomas Neuce*, Deputy for the Company, Mr. *Pawlet*, Mr. *Leech*, Captain *Nathaniel Powel*, Mr. *Christopher Davison*, Secretary, Doctor *Pots*, Physician to the Company, Mr. *Roger Smith*, Mr. *John Berkeley*, Mr. *John Rolfe*, Mr. *Ralph Hamer*, Mr. *John* * *Pountis*, Mr. *Michael Lapworth*, Mr. *Harwood*, Mr. *Samuel Macock*. Which said Counsellors and Council we earnestly pray and desire, and in his Majesty's Name strictly charge and command, that (all Factions, Partialities, and sinister Respect laid aside) they bend their Care and Endeavours to assist the said Governor; first and principally, in the Advancement of the Honour and Service of God, and the Enlargement of his Kingdom amongst the Heathen People; and next, in erecting of the said Colony in due Obedience to his Majesty, and all lawful Authority from his Majesty's Directions; and lastly, in maintaining the said People in Justice and *Christian* Conversation amongst themselves, and in Strength and Ability to withstand their Enemies. And this Council, to be always, or for the most Part, residing about or near the Governor.

IV. The other Council, more generally to be called by the Governor, once Yearly, and no § oftener, but for ‖ very extraordinary and important Occasions, shall consist, ** for the present, of the said Council of State, and of two Burgesses out of every Town, Hundred, or other particular Plantation, to be respectively chosen by the Inhabitants: Which Council shall be called The General Assembly, wherein (as also in the said Council of State) all Matters shall be decided, determined, and ordered, by the greater Part of the Voices then present; reserving to the Governor always a Negative Voice. And this General Assembly shall have free Power to treat, consult, and conclude, as well of all emergent Occasions concerning the Publick Weal of the said Colony and every Part thereof, as also to make, ordain, and enact such general Laws and Orders, for the Behoof of the said Colony, and the good Government thereof, as shall, from time to time, appear necessary or requisite;

V. Whereas in all other Things, we require the said General Assembly, as also the said Council of State, to imitate and follow

‡ It is to be noted, that the Governor is always inserted in the old Commissions, as a Part, and the Head of the Council of State.

† M. S. *Thorne*; but as I am perfectly well acquainted with these Names and Persons, by perusing the ancient Records, I shall take the Liberty of correcting the Errors of the Transcriber.

* M. S. *Downtus*.

§ M. S. *officer*.

‖ M. S. *very and extraordinary important*; which likewise makes Sense, taking *extraordinary* adverbially.

** M. S. *for present*.

the

the Policy of the Form of Government, Laws, Customs, and Manner of Trial, and other Administration of Justice, used in the Realm of *England*, as near as may be, even as ourselves, by his Majesty's Letters Patent, are required.

VI. PROVIDED, that no Law or Ordinance, made in the said General Assembly, shall be or continue in Force or Validity, unless the same shall be solemnly ratified and confirmed, in a General Quarter Court of the said * Company here in *England*, and so ratified, be returned to them under our Seal; It being our Intent to afford the like Measure also unto the said Colony, that after the Government of the said Colony shall once have been well framed, and settled accordingly, which is to be done by Us, as by Authority derived from his Majesty, and the same shall have been so by us declared, no Orders of Court afterwards shall bind the said Colony, unless they be ratified in like Manner in the General Assemblies. IN WITNESS whereof we have hereunto set our Common Seal, the 24th of *July* 1621, and in the Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, *JAMES*, King of *England &c.* the **** and of *Scotland* the ****.

---

* M. S. *Court.*

WZ 270 S860h 1747 c.1